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THE

TRUE STATE OF THE QUESTION:

WHETHER ADMISSIBILITY OF

ROMANISTS

TO THE

HIGHER OFFICES OF THE STATE,

BY THEMSELVES TERMED

"CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION,"

Be compatible with the principles of

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION?

BY JOSEPH SPEARING, JUN.

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THE

TRUE STATE

OF

THE QUESTION:

&c.

THERE cannot be a more direct contradiction to common sense, nor, it is to be feared, a more convincing proof of depravity of disposition and wilful perversion of the directing light of reason and intellect, than the attempting to confound religion with tenets and practices contrary to its essence. True religion, taught by our Saviour and his apostles, is the directing star to guide our course; the safe prompter of our thoughts; the efficient dictator of our actions; not a cloak to cover our temporal ends! It aims at the peace and happiness of mankind, not by accommodating itself to men's desires and passions, but by exacting their obedience to its precepts. Strange then is the infatuation which can venture on confounding things eternal with things temporal; light with darkness; truth with equivocation and falsehood: which can refer to religion, questions with which religion not only has nothing to do, but which it utterly disclaims.

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It has been of late industriously promulgated, with all the affected pomp of recent discovery, as if it were a proposition, the truth of which had not been recognized and admitted before, that no man ought to be persecuted on account of his religion. This incontrovertible doctrine, he who will allow the orators and scribblers of our times the merit of having suggested, must be strangely ignorant of the civil and ecclesiastical history of these kingdoms; of the history of the reformation; and of the state of civilized society since that period. He who maintains that Romanists are persecuted on account of their religion,* must either strangely abuse his own understanding, if he has any, or connive at whatever may be their purposes. He must see things through a strange perspective, who considers conscience and duty concerned in a grasp at power and rule; who offers as acceptable service to the God of order and peace, factious and seditious attempts to overturn existing establishments, and disturb the peace of society; and who brings himself to believe that such tenets and practices are derived from the instructions of the "Prince of Peace;" who "left us an example that we should follow his steps;" who declared, that "his kingdom was not of this world;" who commanded us, in things temporal, to "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's;" and who, consulting at once both our happiness and our duty, gave us the best of all possible prescriptions: namely, "content."

It would be irrelevant, therefore, in discussing the present question on its merits, to consider it as in anywise connected with religion. Any relation it had to an ecclesiastical question, ceased, on the repeal of the penal statutes. It is to be considered as a civil, and, if the Romanists please, a political question merely.

But obvious as it is, from the whole tenor of the scriptures, that this question has really no connection with religion; of which these declarations and instruc-

* This they have themselves more openly advanced, in proportion as restrictions have been removed, and privileges granted.

tions of our Saviour are, alone, sufficient proof: yet the advocates of the Romish claims have, by illusive and sophisticated representations, succeeded in imposing what is spurious on the uninformed, as genuine; and they have, thence, entangled those claims with what they have been pleased to call religion. For the more correct information, therefore, of our abused countrymen, a close analysis becomes vitally necessary. In a faithful endeavour to furnish my readers with this, it would be impossible to fix the same boundary between the subject, and the system of religion which is brought to enforce it, which reason and revelation have irremoveably placed between it and true religion. It cannot then be expected that I can leave untouched, any tenets, doctrines, decrees, decretals, briefs, bulls, institutions, or rescripts, which have had their views in the usurpation of a temporal empire. I am aware that this publication will be considered invidious; but, conscious of intending no reasonable ground of offence to persons or parties, I am determined that it shall be only considered so, by those to whom truth, supported by the united testimonies of all accredited histories, and all authentic documents, would be unwelcome. And even where truth is involved in points not exactly relevant to any part of my subject, I shall leave such points untouched, and confine myself to such only as have been found to interfere with human governments.

I shall assume it to be unnecessary to enter here into a defence of regular and settled governments, to effect the subversion of which, Mr. Paine's Model of Anarchy has been proposed. The alluring, but delusive sophisms of this writer, and of his industrious followers, in the cause of disorder and mischief, however well calculated they may be to attract the ignorant and inexperienced, and to attach their feeble aid to the nefarious confederacy of the designing, the profligate, and the abandoned, are too obvious to the wise, the learned, and the truly patriotic, to require serious confutation.

The proposition, then, granted, that governments are useful, in promoting among men in all nations, peace and

good order, with their inseparable concomitant, security; the next consideration is, as far as it may be distinctly applicable to the present question, the particular constitution of the British government.

Of this constitution, the connection in church and state is inseparable, and forms the cement and safeguard. From it the inestimable blessings we possess, of civil and religious liberty, are derived. The just and equal laws which form its parts, and are only a terror to evil doers; which secure the lives, properties, and liberties of all loyal and peaceable subjects, of every rank and order, and of whatever religious persuasion; which protect the good, repress the bad, and promote the true, rational, and lawful "rights of man," in civilized society, under "powers ordained of God;"—have been long the envy of all surrounding nations. These are blessings which must excite in all hearts, the generous emotions of true religion, virtue, and legitimate liberality; the most firm loyalty, and unequivocal affection to the illustrious monarch who wields the sceptre; and to the King of kings, and Sovereign Disposer of all things, the most humble and dutiful acknowledgments of the stupendous blessings which he has graciously and mercifully dispensed to us.

But, arduous were the struggles which preceded the attainment of this happy settlement, and glorious bulwark of our rights and liberties—dreadful the cruelties which our ancestors suffered under the usurpation of the bishops of Rome and their infatuated clergy; and great and watchful should be the care, as are momentous and paramount the duty and the trust, in handing down unimpaired to our posterity, a possession, without which all other possessions would be unstable as water, and fleeting as the wind. They would soon become the easy prey of avarice, hypocrisy, *pious* fraud, and lust of power; qualities quite opposite to those with which our Divine Master instructs us to perfect ourselves. This constitution also secures to us a privilege above all earthly possessions, and every other blessing—a privilege from which our ancestors had been prohibited, under the

Romish jurisdiction, namely, the study of, and instruction in, the sacred scriptures; which alone contain the words of, and road to, eternal life. Exclusion is threatened, in the concluding sentences of the book of Revelations, to him who shall add to, or take from, the doctrines delivered in holy writ.

That every government should contain the principles of its own security, is an axiom that has been admitted by every writer on the subject, of any consideration; and this has been acted on in all ages and nations. Indeed this axiom is so obviously self-evident, that a government that did not contain the principles of its own security, would be a government no longer; or, in other words, a government that admitted within its pale, or powers and privileges of jurisdiction, materials discordant and inimical to it, must inevitably be subverted. And surely to no government is this axiom more applicable in theory, nor its strict observance in practice more justifiable, than to the British; which affords every liberty to every individual, except the liberty of doing mischief; and therefore approximates more eminently than that of any other nation on the earth, to the laws of Him, whose service is perfect freedom.

But, as "the extirpation of heresy, and the exaltation of the catholic church," and attachment to the British constitution, are principles as diametrically opposite as can be well conceived, by any reasoning mind, I shall leave to those who religiously hold the former, and assert that they hold the latter, to reduce them to accordance.

A corollary of the foregoing axiom is, that a government cannot admit, with safety to its existence, those who hold opposite opinions to any part of its jurisdiction or powers; nor are they capable of exercising such. To administer the powers and duties of the constitution and government, as he finds them, not as he wills them, is the paramount duty of him who serves under, not rules over, the constitution that entrusts him. And, as the most requisite qualification for any service, is an attachment to the interests of that service; and as it is inconsistent with the nature of efficient government, to suppose

that these powers and duties would be adequately and faithfully administered by him whose religious prejudices are against it: it is utterly inconceivable how, by any legitimate process of reasoning, the anomaly can be reconciled, that those who are inimical to a government, could accept of places under it. But as this is a difficulty which can be only solved by those who are masters of the new logick; to them I shall leave it, and hasten to a conclusion much more material, and indeed inevitable: that as a government cannot, with safety, so it ought not, in duty, admit those who hold contrary tenets, either civil or religious, to the exercise of any of its functions. For to what end would the efforts of inimical persons be directed? Certainly not to the conservation and safety of the government, with the principles of which they disagreed, but rather to its subversion. If this were not the consequence of their admission, what would the experiment prove? What, but that they were hypocrites; and, in the case of the discordance being religious, that they possessed no sincere principles of religion at all. And here they would be equally unfit to be trusted. If they sincerely believed their own to be the true religion, and that of the state to be "a dangerous novelty;"—"a heresy which commenced in the reign of King Henry the eighth, and is still continued;" they could neither, *de facto*, serve, nor, *de jure*, be employed by, the government which held this "dangerous novelty." They would, *de facto*, endeavour to extirpate this "heresy:" and if this convey, to a reflecting mind, a strange idea of service, the absurdity will appear no less apparent of expecting that the government should, *de jure*, give them the opportunity of administering such. If, on the other hand, they did not believe that the reformed religion is a heresy, they then must believe that it is not a heresy; and, I would ask, would the latter belief constitute a dissenter from the reformed church?—Is not a belief, that the doctrine of the reformed church is not a heresy, tantamount to a belief that it is the true and primæval doctrine of the scriptures? And what would this be, but to be essentially what is understood by the term, protestant?

I shall now proceed to such summary from history, as will be requisite within the bounds prescribed by the nature of the present treatise: in which I shall endeavour to steer as clear as possible from a theological view, which I leave for discussion elsewhere, and confine the disquisition to a civil and political consideration. And I shall repeat the remark I have already made, that religion utterly disclaims any connection with this question. It is not necessary to any man's eternal salvation, that he fill an office of trust under a temporal government, although it be necessary, if he fill it, that he fill it faithfully. It is not an impairment of a man's religious liberty; it is not an infringement on a man's acknowledged right of freedom of conscience, as a free agent, subject only to human tribunals for his actions; it is not persecution on account of religion; it is not even an interruption to the formal and external acts, to the rites and ceremonies of his religion, be they ever so many or ridiculous, that he enjoy not the possession of, nor possess the eligibility for, an office of state. The possession of this, and, at the same time, of discordant principles, would be irreconcileable with the idea of the existence of the government, and indeed with any other idea than that of the person himself being an absolute governor. The ineligibility proceeds from, and the eligibility rests with, himself. But it is the incessant employment of subterfuge, when one ground is found untenable, to remove to another, disputing "inch by inch," until none remains; and when the substance is exhausted, perverted fancy conjures up the shadow. While there is one neutral, or more properly speaking, ignorant person, to be blindfolded, evasive subtilty is unwilling to consider its spider's web as vain. What flies before logical analysis is met by sophistry. The question of catholic emancipation, as it is most absurdly termed, after having passed through its probatory transitions, arrives at last, when the ignorant and credulous are thought sufficiently prepared to swallow such nonsense, at the point of "simple repeal;" and the compatibility of simple repeal with the principles of the British constitution, is tri-

umphantly promulgated. All laws already repealed, and all restrictions removed from Romanists, which could in the smallest degree militate against the lawful rights of subjects of a free state; as Romanists, enjoying not only every religious, but every civil liberty, under the protection of a constitution, whose most prominent maxim is liberty and property, the constitution must itself be repealed to please them! Because an impossibility cannot be effected; because they administer not what they could not and would not, as Romanists, administer, a protestant government; therefore they are persecuted on account of their religion. Lord Trimleston was reported by the newspapers to have said, in a speech, the 29th of May, 1813, "We have succeeded in proving the principle, that the emancipation of the catholics is not incompatible with the safety of the constitution." In proving! How? I have not, at least, been able to come at this proof. It does not appear to me that Lord Trimleston gives, in his speech, any proof of this: he gives us only the assertion: nor have I been able to find, or to hear of, in any the smallest part of the pile of rubbish under which the press has groaned, whether in the shape of pamphlets, newspaper commentaries, or printed reports of speeches, any of this proof; and I am left to conclude, that the proof meant, is the assertion itself; a kind of proof analagous to that contained in the fourth resolution of an aggregate meeting in Dublin, the 11th of June, 1814, viz.:— "We utterly deny that the catholic board is an unlawful assembly, either within the provisions of the convention act, or otherwise." And also similar to the proof afforded of the assertion, that the Romanists are as great slaves as the negroes; which, no doubt, is proved by tumultuous aggregate meetings, and by the resolutions passed therein, for example, all the resolutions in that just alluded to. But, if no better proof has been given of the proposition, that "the emancipation of the catholics is not incompatible with the safety of the constitution," perhaps it has been, "not because they were unwilling, but because they were unable" to give such. Nor will

this convey any imputation on their "talents," when it baffled the laborious researches, and sincere wishes, of the most wise, virtuous, and patriotic statesman that ever existed, Mr. Pitt. If then, this proposition be so difficult, let us try its opposite. With this view, therefore, I proceed to the historical test.

The first ages of the christian æra display only accounts of transactions before christianity was publicly introduced as the religion of states. It is therefore foreign to the question to detail these; but it belongs to it to observe, that the corruptions which, even during these early times, crept into genuine christianity, paved the way, not only for more ridiculous perversions, and more enormous corruptions, in succeeding ages, but also for the erection of that audacious superstructure of temporal power, under the tyrannical usurpation of the bishops of Rome, and the iron rule of ignorant and profligate priests, which held the world in chains of darkness, barbarism, cruelty, and vice; trampled on the civil rights of mankind, and presumed to fetter the liberty with which "Christ has made us free." And it belongs to it also to notice, that in the second century, councils were introduced. The account of the introduction of councils, I shall give in the words of the learned editors of the Encyclopædia Britannica, for the purpose of helping the reader to a clue to his ascertaining the first beginnings of that power, which afterwards subjugated mankind:—

"During a great part of the second century, the churches were independent of each other; nor were they joined together by association, confederacy, or any other bonds, but those of charity. Each assembly was a little state, governed by its own laws, which were either enacted, or at least approved of by the society. But in process of time, all the christian churches of a province were formed into a large ecclesiastical body; which, like confederate states, assembled at certain times, in order to deliberate about the common interests of the whole. This institution had its origin among the Greeks; but in a short time it became universal, and similar assemblies

were formed in all places where the gospel had been planted. These assemblies, which consisted of the deputies, or commissioners from several churches, were called synods by the Greeks, and councils by the Latins; and the laws enacted in these general meetings were called canons, i. e. rules. Councils, of which we find not the smallest trace before the middle of this century, changed the whole face of the church, and gave it a new form; for by them the ancient privileges of the people were considerably diminished, and the power and authority of the bishops greatly augmented. The humility, indeed, and prudence of these pious prelates, hindered them from assuming all at once the power with which they were afterwards invested. At their first appearance in the general councils, they acknowledged that they were no more than the delegates of their respective churches, and that they acted in the name, and by the appointment of the people. But they soon changed this humble tone; imperceptibly extended the limits of their authority; turned their influence into dominion, their councils into laws; and at length openly asserted, that Christ had employed them to prescribe to his people authoritative rules of faith and manners. Another effect of these councils was, the gradual abolition of that perfect equality which reigned among all bishops in the primitive times; for the order and decency of these assemblies required, that some one of the provincial bishops, met in council, should be invested with a superior degree of power and authority; and hence the rights of metropolitans derive their origin. In the mean time, the bounds of the church were enlarged; the custom of holding councils was followed wherever the sound of the gospel had reached; and the universal church had now the appearance of one vast republic, formed by a combination of a great number of little states. This occasioned the creation of a new order of ecclesiastics, who were appointed in different parts of the world as heads of the church, and whose office it was to preserve the consistence and union of that immense body, whose numbers were so widely dispersed throughout the nations. Such

was the nature and office of patriarchs; among whom, at length, ambition, being arrived at its most insolent period, formed a new dignity, investing the bishops of Rome with the title and authority of the prince of the patriarchs."

So much for the first and gradual advances to that temporal power, usurped afterwards to so vast an extent by those who pretended to be the ministers of Him, who declared that " his kingdom was not of this world."

The Roman empire was the first place into which christianity was publicly introduced as the religion of the state, in the reign of Constantine, An. Chr. 324. Previous to this period, the clergy had been more slowly advancing their power, and their advances were less at variance with the scriptures and with reason; but, from this period, their ambition exceeded all bounds. They threw off all restraint. They endeavoured, by the grossest perversions, to establish their tenets, which were in direct contradiction to the christian doctrine, as consistent with it. They omitted no opportunity which presented itself, nor no stratagems to encrease such opportunities, of grasping at the most arbitrary temporal power, and the most enormous riches. The profligacy of their lives and actions began, at length, to keep pace with their unbounded avarice and tyranny. But all this is nothing, compared with the papal power in after ages, when arrived at its zenith; for the clergy were yet subject to the state; the bishop of Rome was still a subject to the emperor.

In the year 372, the Emperor Valentinian empowered the bishop of Rome to examine and judge other bishops. In a council at Rome, in the year 378, the bishops approved of this law. The removal of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople, presented a material obstacle to the bishop of Rome's encreasing authority, by raising up a rival metropolitan, which ended in the separation of the Greek and Roman churches.

In the beginning of the seventh century, the supremacy of the bishop of Rome was thus introduced:— Boniface, the third bishop of that name, engaged Phocas,

then emperor, to take from the bishop of Constantinople the title of æcumenical or universal bishop, and to confer it upon him.

In the eighth century, the strides of the Roman see to power became more rapid, from the ignorance and superstition of the people, and from various other political events, which favoured its encroachments. When the nations hitherto under the dark and barbarous reign of paganism, during which the chief druid, or high priest, possessed unbounded authority, had received the gospel, and embraced christianity, they proposed conferring upon the bishop of Rome the same authority which their druids had possessed. This the bishop of Rome accepted, and thus he acquired a civil and political power totally unwarranted by holy writ. His decision was held to be infallible; his authority to extend throughout the world. His legates were sent into every kingdom of Europe; his bulls and decretal epistles became the rule of faith and discipline; and his judgment was considered the *dernier resort.* To support this power, excommunication, by the Roman see, of all who did not manifest the most blind and implicit obedience to it, was found a ready engine. Excommunication, in its christian import, and as it was practised in the primitive church, as an ecclesiastical censure, was quite of a different nature from that species of excommunication at this period resorted to. New chains were now forged for the people; new thunders, without hesitation or restraint, sent forth. It was maintained that excommunicated persons forfeited not only their civil rights and advantages, as citizens, but even the common claims and privileges of humanity. Hence, in the succeeding pages of history, the most dreadful wars, the most treacherous rebellions, and the most horrid massacres! In Europe particularly, the destructive effects of this infernal engine were widely and deeply felt. Its diabolical operation dissolved all, even the tenderest connections; drenched the hands of the infatuated people in each other's blood; sapped the allegiance of subjects, and committed to the disposal of the presumptuous and antichristian bishops of Rome, the

sceptres of monarchs. To crown the daring impiety, those on whom this anathema was inflicted, were held degraded to the level of beasts; nay, of devils, for not assenting to, and not complying with, false and sophisticated dogmas, directly contradictory to the plain and unequivocal sense of scripture.

In 751, Pepin, mayor of the palace to Childeric the third, king of France, countenanced by Zachary, the reigning pontiff, easily succeeded in dethroning his sovereign, and usurping his crown. This decree was confirmed by Stephen the second, the successor of Zachary, who dissolved the obligation of the oath of fidelity and allegiance, which Pepin had sworn to his sovereign.

In the eleventh century, the bishops of Rome were entitled, "masters of the world," and popes, i. e. "universal fathers;" derived from the Latin—*papa*, father. This audacious and unscriptural power they obtained by the most scandalous and impious stratagems; and encreased by constantly taking advantage of the civil dissentions which prevailed throughout Italy, France and Germany, until their influence in civil matters arrived to a height which extinguished every vestige of civil liberty.

"The wisest and most impartial of the Romish writers acknowledge that, from the time of Louis the meek, the ancient rules of ecclesiastical government were gradually changed in Europe by the councils and instigations of the church of Rome; and new laws substituted in their place; the European princes suffered themselves to be divested of the supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters, which they had derived from Charlemagne; the power of the bishops was greatly diminished, and even the authority of both provincial and general councils began to decline."—[ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.]

The "popes," to establish the maxim that the bishop of Rome was constituted, by our Saviour, supreme legislator and judge of the church universal, and that the bishops derived all their authority from him, employed some of their most ingenious and zealous partisans in forging conventions, acts of councils, epistles, &c. to make it appear that the bishops of Rome possessed the supremacy

in the first ages. These impious deceptions, the French bishops endeavoured to oppose; but, in the state of ignorance and superstition in which Europe was sunk, their efforts were vain. The bishops of Rome, having established this authority, presided in all councils by their legates; and maintained the pretended rights of the church against the encroachments of princes. Their power, restrained for some time by sovereign princes from usurping in civil matters, and even by the bishops from assuming a spiritual despotism, at last outstepped these limits. From the time of Leo the ninth, they used every artifice which can disgrace the heart, to erect themselves into supreme legislators in the church, and to vest themselves with jurisdiction over both provincial and general councils, and with the sole distribution of benefices. Not satisfied, however, with this, they styled themselves, "lords of the universe;"—"king of kings;"—"arbiters of the fate of kingdoms and empires;"—"supreme rulers over the kings and princes of the earth;"—"sole lords and governors both in spirituals and temporals." They and their partisans held that, "to him" (i. e. the bishop of Rome) "all power was given in heaven and on earth;" that, "so far from being equal to him, they, and all other bishops, were but his delegates and deputies;" that, "the power, authority and jurisdiction which they enjoyed, were derived to them from the plenitude of his!" that, "all were to be judged by him, but himself by no man;" that, "the greatest monarchs were his slaves and vassals;" that, "he was appointed prince over all nations and kingdoms, that his power excelled all powers; that it was necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to him." The following is an aphorism of Innocent the third:—"We, according to the plenitude of our power, have a right to dispense with all right." Cardinal Bellarmine, the great advocate of the Roman see, lays down:—"Should the pope enjoin vice, and forbid virtue, the church would sin if she did not believe virtue to be evil and vice to be good." This doctrine was first broached by Cardinal Zabarel. One of the papal canons says,—

"Should a pope be so wicked as to carry with him innumerable souls to hell, let no man presume to find fault with him, or reprove him, because he who is to judge all men, is to be judged by none." All true Romanists lay down as a first principle, that "the pope is above all laws;" that "no law can be binding with respect to him, to whom an unlimited power was granted of loosening and binding whatever he thought fit to loosen and bind." These arbitrary and blasphemous maxims, or rather statutes, were by no means allowed to remain as so much dead letter. That the power they conferred was exercised by the bishops of Rome, the whole tenor of history assures us. They gave away kingdoms, absolved subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and laid claim to the whole earth as their property; to every nation, whether christianity prevailed in it, or not. On the discovery of America and the East Indies, the bishop of Rome granted to the Portuguese a right to all the countries lying eastward; and to the Spaniards all lying westward of Cape Nore, in Africa, which they were able to conquer by force of arms.

But during this long and dreadful æra, which continued until the time of the reformation, there was no stretch of presumption more daring than the sale of indulgences: and this it was which, in the end, produced the reformation. The clergy had plunged deeply in crimes, and had amassed almost all the wealth of Europe. The laity, instructed that they could purchase pardon of their sins for money, unhesitatingly followed their example. Some, indeed, opposed this torrent of wickedness which had nearly overspread the world, but in vain. The bishops of Rome and the clergy ruled uncontrolled; and sovereigns, as well as others, were, in effect, but their vassals and slaves. The most prominent opposers of this nefarious system had been the Waldenses and Albigenses; but they had been suppressed: and though some private persons, and some powerful sovereigns, exclaimed loudly against the tyranny of the bishops of Rome and the clergy, and demanded a reformation of the church in its head and members; yet they did not go sufficient length to produce

any good effect, as they did not then entertain a doubt of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome in religious matters, and consequently remained inactive, or looked to Rome, or to a general council, for redress. Until the sixteenth century, these causes contributed to secure the Roman pontiffs in their usurped dominion.

In the sixteenth century, the glorious epoch arrived, which restored, (not commenced,) the worship of the true God, and Saviour of the World, in the place of the system substituted for it in the middle and latter ages; which introduced pastors, true witnesses of God's sacred truth, faithfully instructing the people in the long forgotten doctrines of primæval times; in the righteous and long insulted laws of the gospel. In a word, the doctrines preached by Christ himself, by the apostles, and by their successors of the primitive christians for the first few ages, instead of "vain traditions;" instead of "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

It would be foreign to my present purpose, to enter into the doctrines of the reformed church, which are ably conveyed in the writings of her divines, and submitted for trial to the only test which is infallible—the sacred scriptures. Those who shall impartially, with humility, and for the rule of life, submit to the same trial, "shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God."

It would be equally foreign to my present purpose, to enter into the doctrines of the church of Rome, which are also to be found in the writings of her doctors; but the restricted glance which I take in this treatise, will, I hope, be found strictly connected with civil consequences. It has been recently and publicly promulgated by Doctor Dromgoole, that the protestant religion is "A DANGEROUS NOVELTY," and that the Romish is "the only road to eternal life." The doctor's speech, among other matter, predicting, that the novelty was falling, and "would leave nothing behind but the memory of the mischiefs which it had created," was received with surprise, both by some Romanists and some protestants; but whether the surprise was most excited by the uncharitableness of the tenets, or the inadvertency of the prediction, I am

totally unable to determine. I firmly believe, that there are many virtuous and honourable members of the Romish and protestant persuasions, whose surprise was unaffected; but neither could take credit for much erudition; neither could have been deep historians. Every evidence which ecclesiastical history at either side supplies—every document—the whole tenor of civil history—and every testimony of every modern writer and orator, who are considered true Romanists, altogether confirm the accuracy of the doctor's researches. The reformation has been denominated, ever since its happy introduction, by the church of Rome, and all its adherents, "a heresy which commenced in the reign of Henry the eighth, king of England, and is still continued." The same opinion is invariably held now, by all who are allowed to be "competent expounders," or "true members" of the Romish faith, which is pronounced to be "unchanged and unchangeable."

"The extirpation of heresy, and the exaltation of the catholic church," convey, indeed, in the abstract meaning of the words, a sense different from that in which the histories of all nations would tell us the *instruction* was accepted, wherein the papal power got entrance. If the dreadful massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, in France; the croisades; the black and infernal practices of the court of inquisition; the artful wiles and impious frauds of Romish priests, of all orders, but particularly that of the Jesuits, authorised by the bishop of Rome, and presumptuously termed "The company of Jesus;" be not sufficient, with the powerful auxiliaries of auricular confession, supererogation, indulgences, dispensations, &c.; and the more compendious arguments of racks, gibbets, fire, and faggot, when the force of the former was found to fail; in curing the credulity of any impartial reader, of whatever profession of faith, I refer him to the formal proceedings against John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, which he will find minutely related in the pages of history. I now proceed to offer the proof in what sense the instruction was accepted, afforded by the histories of Great Britain and Ireland.

Before the birth of our Saviour, the Britons, like the rest of the world, the Jews only excepted, were gross idolaters. Though the precise time is uncertain, yet all agree that the gospel was preached in Great Britain soon after our Saviour's death: Theodoret and Eusebius assert, by the apostles; and it seems credible that St. Paul first preached there. But christianity having been subsequently rooted out by persecutions; Lucius, a British king, sent ambassadors to Eleutherius, the twelfth bishop of Rome, An. Chr. 176, to desire him to send over some missionaries to instruct them in the christian religion. Two ambassadors were sent, who were consecrated bishops. The more general introduction of christianity into England, however, was by Austen; who was sent, with forty Benedictine monks, by the then bishop of Rome, Gregory the first, to convert the English, in the reign of Ethelbert, An. Chr. 596. They arrived at the isle of Thanet in 597. But the church now erected, by no means corresponded with that founded by the apostles, which was perfect, without spot or wrinkle. Our idea, therefore, of the church founded by Austen, must be conformable to the general state of the christian church at that time. Austen's care was not confined to the conversion of the English only; he undertook to bring the bishops to a conformity with the Roman church, and to make them acknowledge the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction. This was not easy. They could not conceive why they should conform to a church at so great a distance, or why they should own the bishop of Rome's authority: and Austen found he could not effect this subjection. He convened a synod in the year 602, at which seven British bishops were present, and also Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, and several of his monks. In this synod, he pressed them to submit to the bishop of Rome's authority. Dinoth made him this remarkable answer:—

"You propose to us obedience to the church of Rome. Are you ignorant that we already owe a deference to the church of God, to the bishop of Rome, and to all christians, of love and charity, which obliges us by all possible

means, to assist and do them all the good we can?—Other obedience than this, to him you call pope, we know not of, and this we are always ready to pay; but for a superior, what need have we to go so far as Rome, when we are governed, under God, by the bishop of Caerlon, who hath authority to take care of our churches and spiritual affairs."

From this period, until the conquest, the interval is found pregnant with innovations of Romish invention:—altars; the mass; Peter Pence; invocations of saints, angels, and the Virgin Mary; the temporary state of purgatory, instead of the eternal state of misery denounced by God himself against the workers of iniquity; the worship of the true God and Saviour of the World, exchanged for the worship of bones—of bits of wood—said to be of the cross, and of images; immunities of the clergy; sanctuaries in churches to the most abandoned criminals who fled to them; the substance of religion placed in augmenting the riches of the clergy, by donations to the church, instead of an upright and virtuous conduct; the attempts to appease an offended God by acts of mortification—gifts and oblations—confidence in the merits of the saints—building and ornamenting churches and chapels—endowing monasteries, &c. hunting after relics; pilgrimages; solitary masses, celebrated by the priest alone, to pray souls out of purgatory, for payment, &c. These I confine myself to the bare mention of, only as historical occurrences, during the interval between Austen's time, and the conquest; and merely to impress the idea of the immense riches which these frauds placed in the hands of the clergy, and the temporal power with which they were found to have invested them, of which the minuter pages of history afford ample proofs.

In the year 1073, Gregory the seventh, then bishop of Rome, demanded homage of William the first, which William refused; but, in 1079, the bishop of Rome's authority first began to obtain a footing in England. It arrived not, however, to that height, so destructive to religious and civil liberty, which it obtained afterwards.

During the reign of William the first, it was attempted to put in execution in England, a project of the bishop of Rome's, to render the clergy independent of the civil power, and to incorporate them into a society apart, which should be governed by its own laws; namely, the celibacy of the clergy. Gregory had called a council at Rome, wherein the clergy were forbidden to marry. The Italians, French, Spaniards, and Germans, submitted after long struggles; but Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, found it more difficult to introduce this in England. He convened a national synod, wherein it was debated; but he met with strong opposition. Finding he could not bring the synod to prohibit all the clergy from marrying, he procured, on what pretence is not known, a decree, that all priests who had their cures in cities, should put away their wives; but they that had benifices in the country, were not so rigorously treated. The synod also ordained, by Lanfranc's suggestion, that none should be admitted into orders, until they had sworn never to marry. This restraint discouraged many from taking orders; so that, in a little time, the church was very ill provided with able ministers. It was found necessary, therefore, to abate of strictness in this matter.

In the reign of William the second, in a contest between him and Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm asserted his obedience to the bishop of Rome. William made him this reply:—"Your subjection to Urban is inconsistent with that which you owe to me as my subject."

Of croisades, which were undertaken in this king's reign, I come now to speak. The first of these was undertaken in the year 1096, by Urban the second, to recover the Holy Land out of the hands of the Saracens; a project first set on foot by Peter the hermit. Peter the hermit was a French priest, who had travelled to the Holy Land in pilgrimage, where he was extremely afflicted with the miseries the christians endured. He pretended that our Saviour appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to go and engage the western christians to undertake their deliverance, promising him success.

As soon as the bishops of Rome possessed themselves of the privilege of publishing a croisade, they drew a consequence from thence, of which they made great use. They pretended that the extirpation of heretics tended as much to the glory of God, as that of infidels. Now, as they assumed to themselves the power of judging what was heresy, the moment any prince offered to make a stand against their encroachments, they presently pronounced him heretic, excommunicated him, and published a croisade against him.

In 1099, the croises took Jerusalem by storm, and put 40,000 Saracens to the sword. It would be absurd merely to term dark and superstitious, the most infernal villainy ever invented or perpetrated. The prince of darkness only could have instigated this enormous wickedness. The Lord of Light and Life declared, that "he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." It is, therefore, sufficiently evident, that these atrocities were antichristian. I could here enlarge, and, perhaps, without offering material violence to the boundary which I have prescribed to myself, both in the title and substance of this treatise; but as it may, nevertheless, be considered more strictly applicable to confine myself within a temporal view, I shall, therefore, on what I have stated, dismiss this part of the subject.

In the reign of Henry the first, Anselm convened a synod, where he got all the married priests to be excommunicated, although very numerous in England. Not having received opposition from the king in this, he proceeded to a bolder step, in which Henry considered his prerogative more immediately concerned, and opposed him strenuously: this was, to wrest from the king the investitures of bishops and abbots. Of this contest, I think it apposite to give a particular account.

At a council at Rome, at which Anselm had been present, it was decreed, that all ecclesiastics, who for the time to come, received the investiture of their benifices from the hands of a layman, should be excommunicated.

After Anselm's return into England, he refused to do homage to Henry, or to consecrate the bishops that had been invested by the king. This investiture had been a prerogative of the kings of England, since the first appointment of bishops in England. As to the general usage in other nations, it is true, that in ancient times bishops were elected by the clergy and the people of the district or diocese. But, ever since the time of Charlemagne, sovereign princes had enjoyed the right of investitures to bishoprics and abbeys, by the delivery of the ring and crosier, or pastoral staff. Sigibert, of Gemblours, anno 773, relates, that Adrian the first, bishop of Rome, at a council of one hundred and fifty-three bishops and abbots, granted Charlemagne the privilege of electing the bishop of Rome, and the right of investitures. Of these, Gregory the seventh was the first that attempted to deprive them, towards the latter end of the eleventh century. The succeeding bishops of Rome pursued his project, with the same earnestness. Contests ensued. Princes declared they would never suffer any persons to take possession of lands held of the crown, but those who had received investiture at their hands. Of the particular usage in England, however, the best law authorities, Coke, Blackstone, &c. lay down investiture as the ancient prerogative of the crown; which was, in effect, nomination. Justice Blackstone says, —"The very nomination to bishoprics, that ancient prerogative of the crown, was wrested from King Henry the first, and afterwards from his successor, King John; and seemingly indeed conferred on the chapters belonging to each see: but by means of the frequent appeals to Rome, through the intricacy of the laws which regulated canonical elections, was eventually vested in the pope."

And the law authorities are born out in their statement by history. Austen was appointed to the see of Canterbury, by King Ethelbert, in the year 598. Throughout the Saxon times, in short, all ecclesiastical dignities came from the crown. But to resume the particulars of this period, anno 1103, Henry, being willing to act with caution, the court of Rome having grown very formidable

by having got the better of the emperor, consented that Anselm should send agents to Rome, while he himself despatched ambassadors there, to persuade the bishop of Rome to leave him in possession of his right. Paschal the second sent word that he could not grant the king what had been forbidden by several councils. Henry, resolved to maintain the privilege he had received from his predecessors, commanded Anselm to do him homage, and to consecrate the bishops that he had invested. Anselm made answer, that "he could not obey the king without disobeying the pope, and the decrees of the synod of Rome, to which he had himself given his vote." The king replied, "What's this to me? Is the synod of Rome to deprive me of the prerogative of my predecessors? No! I will never suffer any person who refuses me the security of a subject, to enjoy estates in my dominions:" and then ordered Anselm to do as he required, or to depart the kingdom. Anselm answered, that "he could do neither; but, would go down to Canterbury and there wait God's good pleasure." The king and the lords of the council were shocked at this answer. After having debated the matter, the lords of the council were of opinion, that the king should not have so great regard for Anselm, or the bishop of Rome, himself, but should drive the one out of his kingdom, and throw off all dependance on the other. The king not wishing to proceed to these extremities, of himself, summoned a general assembly, or parliament. Matters were at last accommodated, between the bishop of Rome, Anselm, and the king, upon these terms: the king was to renounce the right of investiture; and the bishop of Rome to give the bishops and abbots leave to do homage to the king for their temporalties. Thus did the bishop of Rome succeed, at this period, in depriving the crown of one of its ancient, and hitherto undisputed, prerogatives. But even this kind of arrangement, the bishop of Rome would not yield to the emperor.

In the year 1119, this king, Henry the first, permitted the English bishops to go to a council at Rheims; ordering them to hearken to the bishop of Rome's apostolical

precepts, but to take heed that they brought not back any new inventions of the court of Rome.

In the year 1125, Honorius the second sent Cardinal De Creme into England, to complete what Lanfranc and Anselm had so well forwarded, the celibacy of the clergy. The cardinal called a council at Westminster, wherein he strenuously inveighed against the married clergy: among other things, he said it was a horrible crime to rise from the side of a harlot, (meaning thereby a married clergyman's lawful wife,) and then to handle the consecrated body of Christ. And yet after all his invectives, he was himself caught that night in bed with a common prostitute: but a short time after this, in 1132, concubines were regularly allowed to priests! The higher classes were taught to believe, that founding a monastery a little before their death would atone for a life of incontinence, disorder and bloodshed. Hence innumerable abbeys and religious houses were built, and endowed with lands, manors, lordships, and extensive baronies.

During Stephen's reign, the troubles which happened, the relation of which would be foreign to my purpose, furnished the clergy with a favourable opportunity of raising the mitre above the crown. The court of Rome laid hold of this juncture, to introduce into England new laws, which the English would have opposed at any other time. The canon law was brought into England, in consequence of a dispute between the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester, about the legateship. This contest gave the Italian canonists an opportunity to settle in England, and introduce by degrees the study of the canon law in the university of Oxford; the separation of the ecclesiastical court from the temporal; the appointment of its judges by merely spiritual authority, without any interposition from the crown; the exclusive jurisdiction it claimed over all ecclesiastical persons and causes; and the *privilegium clericale*, or benefit of clergy, which delivered all clerks from any trial or punishment, except before their own tribunal. At the same time was imported the doctrine of appeals to Rome, as a branch of the canon law.

The clergy, industrious in taking advantage of Stephen's contests with his barons, advanced their pretensions.—He attempted to lower their greatness and presumption, which were daily advancing during his reign; but his troubles were so many, and their practices managed with such artful assiduity, that they got the better of him, and incited a civil war. The bishops had fortified castles; these Stephen seized, and imprisoned the bishops. A synod was called at Winchester, to which the king was summoned, to give an account of his actions. Stephen sent there some lords, with Alberic De Vere, a famous civilian, who demanded, why the king was summoned there? The bishop of Rome's legate answered, "It was to give his reasons for having imprisoned the bishops and despoiled them of their estates." Alberic said, that "the prelates had been punished, not as bishops, but as the king's subjects and servants." The bishop of Salisbury, not relishing that distinction, roundly told him, "that the bishops could not in any respect be looked on as the king's servants." The majority of the synod being of the same opinion, the archbishop of Roan, who thought the episcopal dignity was no ground for an independent power, endeavoured to set them right: he demanded, "Whether they could clearly prove from the canons, that bishops, as such, ought to have fortified castles?—but, added he, supposing you could make appear, that you may be possessed of strong holds, without acting contrary to the canons of the church, yet by what right can you refuse to deliver them into the hands of the king, when the kingdom is threatened with invasion? Is it not the king's business to take care of the safety of the state? And can subjects refuse to admit him into their fortresses without incurring the guilt of rebellion?"—These arguments had not weight with the bishops. The legate proposed to excommunicate the king, and send deputies to Rome, to lay their case before the bishop of Rome. The lords sent by the king then declared, that if the synod proceeded to excommunicate the king, the bishops would soon have cause to repent of their proceedings; and if any of them took upon them to go to

Rome, they would find it no easy matter to return. This terrified them into more cautious measures; but a deputation was sent to the king, beseeching him to prevent a rupture between the ecclesiastical and civil powers: i. e. to require him to satisfy the clergy, for fear of a rupture. The clergy's faction at length became so strong in numbers, that a civil war ensued. The king, after defending himself with the greatest valour, was at last overpowered.

In the reign of Henry the second, the contest with Becket is the most remarkable occurrence which bears on the subject. Thomas Becket was the son of a citizen, had been brought up to the church, and had become archdeacon of Canterbury. Having gained the king's good will, he was appointed high chancellor; in which office he behaved with the utmost pride and haughtiness, to all but the king; to whose will he appeared to be so entirely devoted, that the king looked upon him as one always ready to sacrifice every thing to his service. A vacancy having happened in the archbishopric of Canterbury, he therefore urgently recommended him to the clergy, and he was elected and consecrated. As soon as he saw himself fixed in that high station, he sent the great seal to his benefactor, who little expected any such thing. An independent power was what he was driving at. He vigorously espoused the cause of the clergy, which they generally affected to style the cause of God. One of the greatest grievances which the king had proposed to redress, was the remissness in punishing priests convicted of any crime. The clergy had, by degrees, acquired an absolute power over all that belonged to their body; for when a clergyman was accused, the matter was tried in the ecclesiastical court, from whence lay no appeal. It was made appear, in the presence of the king, that since his accession to the crown there had been above a hundred murders committed in the kingdom by ecclesiastics, of whom not one had been punished, even so much as with degradation! What was still more astonishing, was that the bishops gloried in this their indulgence. They were of opinion, that they could not

give surer marks of their zeal for religion, and the service of God, than by maintaining to the utmost of their power these pretended immunities of the clergy, and, consequently, all the abuses that sprung from them.

A case at this time happened: a clergyman of the diocese of Sarum had committed a murder. It was tried in the archbishop's court, and it was decreed, that the murderer should be deprived of his benefice, and confined to a monastery. The king warmly expostulated with the archbishop on this sentence. Becket received his expostulation as if it had been without ground, and boldly asserted "the immunities of the church, and privileges of the clergy." He affirmed, that "an ecclesiastic ought not to be put to death for any crime whatsoever." Henry replied, that "being appointed by God to cause justice to be done to all his subjects, without distinction, he did not understand why these pretended immunities should screen malefactors, of what order soever, from the punishments they deserved: that there was no probability God should take pleasure in authorizing the crimes of his ministers; but, on the contrary, that they ought to be punished more severely than laymen. Lastly, he declared, that since the ecclesiastical court was so favourable to clergymen, his intent was, that heinous crimes, such as murder, robbery, and the like, should be tried in his courts."

Becket made answer, "that he would never allow the clergy should be tried any where but in the ecclesiastical courts, where care should be taken to punish them according to the canons."

The king then convened the principal lords of the kingdom, spiritual as well as temporal, in order to consult about the means of redressing the grievances that had been introduced into the state. He endeavoured to make them sensible, that if care was not taken to curb the arrogant prelate, he would at length usurp all the prerogatives of the crown, under the pretence of religion. He proposed a regulation, consisting of five articles, which he called the "Customs of Henry the first."

1st..."That no one should appeal to Rome without the king's consent."

2d..."That no prelate should go to Rome, though summoned by the bishop of Rome, without the king's leave."

3d..."That no immediate vassal of the crown, or king's officer, should be excommunicated or subjected without the king's knowledge."

4th..."That all clergymen charged with capital crimes, should be tried in the king's courts."

5th..."That such ecclesiastical affairs as all the nation should be concerned in, as the repairing of churches, tythes, and the like, should be decided in the civil courts."

These were approved of by the temporal lords; but the prelates refused to subscribe them. The king, provoked, threatened the clergy; who, terrified, complied. The bishop of Rome, however, refused his sanction, and condemned the articles, as prejudicial to the church, and destructive of her privileges. On which Becket openly declared, "that he repented of having signed the constitutions of Clarendon; and that he thought himself guilty of so heinous a crime in doing it, that he had nothing to trust to for pardon but the pope's mercy."

The bishop of Rome quickly sent him his pardon, and promised to stand by him. Becket's opposition then became more violent. He asserted "that the pope having condemned the articles, his sentence was of greater force than all the laws of the land."

This, however fit to gain the bishop of Rome's favour, could not avail him in the king's courts, where judgment was to be given pursuant to the said articles passed into a law. He was therefore looked upon as a rebel, who had risen up against the authority of the laws; and the king ordered him to be accused of perjury and treason; for having violated the oath he had taken to his sovereign, and refused to pay the obedience due to him. He was declared guilty of the perjury, and the sentence for treason was suspended only because it would have affected his life. However, he came on a subsequent occasion into the room where the king and the barons were sitting, with his cross in his hand. The archbishop of York severely reprimanded him for entering in that posture, after having been found guilty of perjury. He told him,

"that coming into the royal presence in that manner, was bidding defiance to the king, and bid him consider that his sovereign's weapon was sharper than his." Becket replied: "It was true the king's weapon could kill the body, but his destroyed the soul, and sent it to hell!" This answer, threatening the king with excommunication, so provoked that monarch, that he ordered the barons to pass sentence forthwith on the crime Becket had just then incurred the guilt of, by his presumption. But that same night Becket fled, and was protected by the king of France, and by the bishop of Rome. Henry, incensed, forbad all appeals to Rome, and enjoined the magistrates to hang on the spot, as traitors, all persons that should be taken either with the bishop of Rome's or Becket's letters, or mandates, about them, importing the excommunication of any private person, or an interdict upon the kingdom. Becket, in turn, excommunicated all that adhered to the constitutions of Clarendon, and particularly some of the lords of the council, who however made but a jest of his censures. At last he took the liberty to send the king a threatening letter. In the course of some time after, Becket was murdered by four persons, in the cathedral of Canterbury. The bishop of Rome soon after threatened to excommunicate the king, and put the kingdom under an interdict; but Henry averted the blow.

In the reign of John, 1206, the archbishopric of Canterbury having become vacant, Innocent the third commanded the deputies of the monks, then at his court, to chuse Stephen Langton, an Englishman, then at Rome. The monks, surprised at this unprecedented order, would at first have dispensed with obeying it. They alleged in their vindication, that they were not empowered by their monastery, and, besides, the king's consent was necessary; but the bishop of Rome would not hearken to their reasons. He told them, that as deputies, they were the representatives of the whole monastery, and that the consent of princes was not at all necessary in elections where he was present himself; and he commanded them, without giving them time to reply, to

elect Cardinal Langton for their archbishop. The monks, terrified, complied; and the election was confirmed, and the archbishop consecrated by the bishop of Rome. The suffragan bishops were forbidden by Innocent to have any thing to do, in future, in the election of their metropolitans: and he sent a *brief* to the king, exhorting him to own Cardinal Langton for archbishop of Canterbury. The king wrote Innocent a sharp letter, complaining of the encroachment on the prerogatives of his crown, and threatening to break off all intercourse with Rome. The bishop of Rome returned an insulting and canting answer on the merits of Langton, and repeated his assertion to the monks, "that the consent of princes was not requisite at elections made in his presence." His letter was quickly followed by an order to the bishops of London, Ely and Worcester, to persuade the king into submission to the orders of the church; or if they found him contumacious, to put the kingdom under an interdict. The bishops obeyed the order, and the king remained inflexible. He commanded the three prelates to depart his presence. Langton's brother importuned him, in an insulting manner, to own Langton for archbishop. The king told him it was a strange thing that an Englishman should press him to renounce the prerogatives of his crown: to which Langton instantly replied, that nothing could be done on his behalf, unless he would wholly put himself upon his brother's mercy.

The three prelates pronounced the sentence of interdict on the whole kingdom, and retired beyond sea. Immediately, divine service, the sacraments, except to infants and dying persons, public prayers, and all ecclesiastical rites, ceased. The church-yards were shut up, and the bodies of the dead thrown into ditches, like dogs, without any priest daring, or being willing to assist at the funerals. The people were thus dealt with, to the end that it might sow dissention between the king and the people, in order to tie up the king's hands from resisting.

The king confiscated the estates of all the ecclesiastics who obeyed the interdict, and sent orders to the sheriffs to make inquiry after them, and expel them the kingdom.

But this could not be generally put in execution without great violence. Some priests, however, of the more zealously devoted to the see of Rome, were obliged to fly: and they that stayed behind suffered daily outrages, for which they could find no redress from the magistrates, who always sent them to "the pope" for justice. Some ecclesiastics administered the sacraments, in spite of the interdict: but as they were incessantly insulted by the zealots, the king ordered the magistrates to hang, on the spot, such as should do them any outrage. Innocent, informed of this, excommunicated all who disobeyed the interdict, or executed the king's orders.

The bishop of Rome, perceiving that the interdict, which had continued above a year, produced not the intended effect, at length, in 1209, pronounced the sentence of excommunication; and committed the publication of it to the bishops of London, Ely and Worcester. As these bishops had still a great regard for the king, they did not think fit to obey the orders with that readiness Innocent desired. However, the news of the king's excommunication was spread so over the kingdom, that not a soul was ignorant of it. As the greater part of the nobility still adhered to the king, he, on the opportunity of some commotions in Ireland, levied a large army, which he led himself into Ireland, in 1210. Having reduced Ireland, he returned, but still kept up the army in England.

These formidable measures, and the inflexibility of the king, Innocent could not bear to see. He sent two nuncios into England, in 1211, under pretence of being desirous to make peace between the king and his clergy, but really to sound the king's intentions.

The two nuncios so turned the king every way, that at length he yielded so far as to promise he would give the banished ecclesiastics leave to return to their churches; that Langton should be put in possession of the see of Canterbury; and that the church of England should enjoy all the liberties, privileges, and immunities, it possessed in the time of Edward the Confessor. It might be reasonably supposed, that these should have satisfied the

nuncios. But what the church of Rome calls an accommodation, is an entire submission to her orders, and a perfect compliance with all her demands. John had to deal with persons of greater cunning than himself; whose sole aim was to sound him, and make their advantage against himself. When they saw he complied so far, they demanded farther, the restitution of all that had been taken from the ecclesiastics, and full satisfaction for the damages they had sustained upon this controversy. And because he would not agree to this, which, in effect, was impossible, the negociation broke off, and the nuncios returned, after having published the sentence of excommunication against the king, which the bishops had until then put off; and which, indeed, appears to have been the real business of the nuncios into England.

Innocent plainly saw by the advances John had made, that he really wanted to get rid of this affair at any rate; and he formed the project of reaping from the king's inability to make restitution, advantages he never before dreamt of. But these intentions he at present concealed, until he should have reduced the king to cast himself on his mercy. Styling the king's inability to make restitution, rebellion and obstinacy, he published a bull, which absolved John's subjects from their oath of allegiance, and enjoined them, upon pain of excommunication, to refuse him all obedience.

In 1212, the king of Scotland sent John word of a dangerous conspiracy forming against him in England; soon after which, distrusting his army, he disbanded them.

In the mean time, a council was called by Langton, under the pretence of a petition to the king, to apply a remedy to the calamities of the church of England. The result of the council was, that John being convicted of "rebellion against the holy see," deserved to be deposed, and that "the pope" should place another king over England. Pursuant to this advice, Innocent thundered out the sentence of deposition against king John: after which he empowered Philip, king of France, to put the sentence in execution; promising him, as a reward, the remission of all his sins, together with the

crown of England, to him and his heirs for ever, when once he had dethroned him. A few days after, he published a bull, exhorting all christian princes to help forward, as far as in them lay, this expedition, which was intended purely to revenge the injuries done to the catholic church. In this bull, he took into his protection whomsoever should contribute money, or any other assistance, towards the subduing the enemy of the church, and granted them the same privileges with those who visited the holy sepulchre. He wrote also to the great men, knights and warriors of divers nations, to undertake this war, signing themselves with the cross, the same as for that of the Holy Land.

The king of France accepted this commission, and made vast preparations, while John prepared for his defence. In the mean time, Innocent sent a legate, Pandulph, into England. His public instructions were to endeavour to prevail with king John to submit to the church; but his private instructions were, to put the finishing stroke to the project he had formed. He passed through France, where he saw Philip's great preparations, and commended his zeal and diligence; after which he went on to the king of England, at Dover. To him he represented, that his enemy's forces were so numerous, that they were able to conquer England, though the whole people were united for their common defence; but, that Philip had received, privately, assurances from the chief barons, that instead of opposing his arms, they would assist him to the utmost of their power. This intelligence corresponding with what John had already received, he appeared shocked at it. This was what Pandulph was driving at. He told him "he had but one way to secure himself from the danger: to put himself under the pope's protection." John, placed thus between two precipices equally dangerous, preferred what he considered the least of the two evils, namely, submission to the bishop of Rome: through whose whole design he saw not; as the legate took care not to impart to him, at first, all the conditions which Innocent required. He was satisfied, first, with obliging him to take a solemn

oath, "that he would obey the pope in all things relating to the affair for which he stood excommunicated; and comply with other articles proposed, relating to restitution, &c." This oath having been obtained, the next thing was to explain, to the king's great surprise, a tacit condition involved in it. The legate proceeded plainly to tell him, that "the offences he had committed against God and the church were of so heinous a nature, that they could not be atoned for but by the absolute resignation of his crown into the hands of the pope." He added, "that he could not give him absolution, but upon that condition only." The unfortunate king, compelled by the hard necessity of his affairs, was forced to submit; and the next day, at Dover church, in the presence of a large concourse of people assembled there, took the crown from off his head, and laid it, with the other ensigns of royalty, at the feet of the legate, as Innocent's representative: after which he signed a charter, whereby he resigned England and Ireland. In this charter, he, thenceforward, acknowledged himself a vassal of the "holy see," and as such, bound himself to pay a thousand marks yearly rent, and that if he, or any of his successors, should refuse to pay the submission due to the holy see, he should forfeit his right to the crown. He then did homage to the bishop of Rome, in the person of Pandulph; who, to shew the grandeur of his master, spurned with his feet the money which the king offered him as a mark of his subjection. The archbishop of Dublin was the only man that had the spirit to protest against these haughty proceedings, but it was to no purpose. The legate kept the crown and sceptre five days, after which he restored them to John, as a singular favour from the holy see. The king became now contemptible to all his subjects. Pandulph, having finished his business, went away, without having taken off the interdict, or given the king absolution. However, he forbad Philip to continue his preparations, or prosecute his design, as John had become a dutiful son of the church. With this Philip refused to comply. But, his fleet having been destroyed by the English fleet, he was

obliged to drop the undertaking. The king received absolution from Langton afterwards, on his renewing his oath of fealty and obedience to Innocent, and of protection to holy church, &c.

On the league of the barons against the king, in defence of the liberties of the nation, John sent a trusty messenger to Innocent, to intreat his assistance. This crafty pontiff, discerning that agreement between the king and his subjects, on the stable basis of civil liberty, would be fatal to his usurped authority, resolved, by promoting their discord, the more firmly to establish his own rule. To that purpose, without giving the least hint of his knowing the confederacy of the barons, he sent Cardinal Nicholas, bishop of Tivoli, as his legate into England, with a power to take off the interdict, and compose the difference between the king and the clergy, concerning restitution. John having offered to pay down 100,000 marks, the legate seemed satisfied: but the bishops rejected his offer. The legate was not displeased at their obstinacy, and he then told the king his orders. He represented to him, "that he could never hope to live in peace until he had put himself entirely under the protection of the apostolic see; that in order to do it effectually, it was necessary for him to make a second resignation of his crown, the first being liable to so many exceptions. That, afterwards the pope, finding himself indispensably obliged to stand by him, would infallibly free him from all his troubles."

A second resignation of his crown, John formally made: and signed another charter, wherein care was taken to supply all the defects of the former.

The barons perceived that their confederacy was discovered; that John's resignation was the price of Innocent's protection; and that nothing was more opposite to their procuring their privileges, than the vassalage to which John had subjected the kingdom. Cardinal Langton also protested against it, and laid his protestation on the altar. Innocent, highly incensed at this, durst not, however, fall on him, for fear of putting the whole kingdom in commotion, and inducing the English to join with Langton in defence of their liberties. But, to mortify the arch

bishop, he gave his legate power to fill all vacant benefices in England. This power the legate abused most shamefully; giving them to Italians; to his relations and creatures; and even some to persons yet unborn.—Langton appealed to Innocent; but without effect; and orders were despatched to the legate to take off the interdict, which had lasted six years.

The differences between the king and his barons having arrived at a threatening height, the king demanded Innocent's assistance. In a letter informing Innocent of the constraint put on him in signing Magna Charta, he meanly desired Innocent to observe that all the articles were encroachments upon the regal power, and consequently upon the sovereign lord. Innocent threatened the barons, who made light of his threats. Proceeding in their measures, he excommunicated them; and put their lands, and the city of London, which had sided with them, under an interdict. The barons despised his censures, and alleged, "that it was not the bishop of Rome's business to meddle with temporal affairs, seeing St. Peter had received from Christ none but spiritual power: for which reason it was neither just nor right that christians should suffer themselves to be swayed by the ambition and avarice of popes." Innocent had the mortification to see his authority trampled on, since the people were against him.

The result of the contest between the king and the barons, was, the grant of the two celebrated charters of our liberties, *Charta de Foresta*, and *Magna Charta*. The former redressed many encroachments of the crown in the exertion of forest law; and the latter protected every individual of the nation in the free enjoyment of his life, his liberty, and his property, unless declared to be forfeited by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

In the reign of Henry the third, the king and the bishop of Rome stood by each other, and, by that means, effected in turn each other's object; that of extorting money from the English people. By their exactions, which form the most considerable occurrences of this reign, the kingdom was incessantly pillaged.

The legate had drained the churches and monasteries of immense sums, and then ordered it to be published throughout the kingdom, that he had power not only to absolve from their vow all that had taken the cross, but likewise to oblige them to compound for absolution by money, under pain of excommunication.

On pretence of securing the peace of the church against the pretended assaults of the emperor, the bishop of Rome required of all the English ecclesiastics, the fifth part of their goods; and the king promoted this. But the bishops opposing it, the legate and they compromised with the substitution of the fifth of their rents.

Three hundred Italians were promoted to benefices in England by the bishop of Rome, who prohibited the conferring of any benefices until the foreigners were provided for.

At length, the barons resolved to free themselves from the tyranny of the court of Rome. Martin, the nuncio, used his power in such an indiscreet manner that it was not possible to bear it any longer. The barons, who beheld with regret all the money of the kingdom remitted to Rome, and who were sensible that the clergy never gave way, when the question was to oppose the bishop of Rome, were at last determined to exert themselves to prevent these frequent extortions. After having conferred together, they resolved to act by their own authority.—Accordingly, without waiting any longer for the king's protection, they issued orders to the wardens of the ports to stop all those who should bring any bulls or mandates from Rome. Pursuant to these orders, which were every where obeyed, without regarding whether they were approved by the king, a messenger from Rome was seized with several bulls about him, empowering the nuncio to exact money from the clergy on divers pretences. The nuncio complained to the king, who commanded every thing to be restored which had been taken from him. But the barons presented to the king strong remonstrances upon this occasion, and set before his eyes the great prejudices he did his subjects by countenancing thus the rapines of the court of Rome. For his

conviction, they laid before him the true value of the income which the Italian ecclesiastics enjoyed in England, which amounted to above sixty thousand marks yearly; a sum exceeding, at that time, the whole revenues of the crown! Henry expressed surprise: but, fearing the resentment of the bishop of Rome, was content with giving the barons leave to write to the general council which was then assembled at Lyons, to set before them the intolerable oppressions which England suffered from the court of Rome.

The barons wrote a letter to the council, containing the grievances of the English. But they resolved at the same time on a more speedy and effectual course. They agreed to meet under pretence of a tournament. This the king forbad: but they did not obey. They met, and the result was: they despatched a knight to the nuncio, who commanded him, in their name, forthwith to depart the kingdom. On the nuncio's demanding "his authority?" he answered, "the whole nation:"—and that in case he stayed three days in England, he should infallibly be cut in pieces. He complained to the king; who answering, he was not able to protect him, he immediately departed.

The bishop of Rome was enraged; and some time after, instead of removing old grievances, he introduced a new one, by claiming the goods of ecclesiastics dying intestate. Fear of an interdict and excommunication obliged the king, unwillingly, to submit; which made the bishop of Rome so imperious, that he attempted to impose a tax on such clergymen as resided on their livings, of one-third, and on such as resided not, of half, of their moveables. But this the king effectually opposed.

A remarkable attempt at temporal and human jurisdiction in spiritual concerns, I think it necessary here to relate. From the absolute power which the bishops of Rome claimed over christians, some English bishops were of opinion that the authority of the church was without bounds. In this belief, they aimed at extending it over civil affairs, on pretence that there was hardly any case in which religion might not be concerned. The bishop of Lincoln took upon him this year, 1216, to make strict

inquiry concerning the life and manners of every particular person in his diocese. To this the king put a stop, by sending a writ to the sheriff, to hinder any person from making inquiry, unless in matrimonial and testamentary causes: which is sufficient evidence of the antiquity of the king's prerogative to grant prohibition; to stop the the proceedings of bishops in matters not belonging to them. If a man's actions be obnoxious to the laws of the land, then only, and to the civil power only, is he, in temporal matters, responsible: else the very idea of civil liberty would be nugatory; and hence, would mortals be invested against mortals with that species of authority which belongs only to God!

In the year 1256, a fresh and most extraordinary method of plundering the clergy was resorted to by the bishop of Rome. He caused a great many obligatory notes to be drawn up, whereby each bishop in England acknowledged himself to have received of such a merchant of Sienna or Florence, or some other place in Italy, the sum of five hundred, six hundred, or seven hundred marks, a-piece, or more, for the occasions of his church, and bound himself to repay it at such a time. Endeavours were used to constrain each bishop to sign one of these notes. The bishops strongly opposing this, the nuncio asserted, "that there was no injustice in what the pope claimed, since as all the churches belonged to him, he could dispose of their incomesas he pleased." The bishops were in the end obliged to comply; the bishop of Rome thus settling it: that the money paid should be deducted out of the tenths which should hereafter be granted to the king.

The bishop of Rome, not content with all this plunder, pressed the king for money, and the king was obliged to satisfy him in some measure, by sending him five thousand marks. Soon after he commanded the bishops to pay the tenths granted to the king, under pain of excommunication; "notwithsanding all objections, all appeals, and all letters obtained, or to be obtained, to the contrary."

In the year 1258, an association was entered into by the barons, in which the city of London joined. The parliament having assembled at Winchester, passed an

act for the perpetual banishment of foreigners; and the incomes of their benefices were forbidden to be sent to them.

In the early part of Henry's reign, an act was passed confirming the great charter. It provides "that no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or condemned at the king's suit, either before the king in his bench, or before any other commissioner or judge, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; and that to no man shall right or justice be sold, denied, or delayed." With respect to forfeitures arising from alienation in mortmain, it ordains "that it shall not be lawful to give lands to any religious house, and to take the same lands again to hold of the same house; nor shall any house of religion take the land of any, and lease the same to him of whom he received it: and if any man so give his lands to any religious house, and be convict, the gift shall be void, and the land shall return to the lord of the fee."

Alienations in mortmain, (dead hands,) are grants to corporations sole or aggregate, ecclesiastical or temporal. But this and the subsequent statutes of mortmain were directed against grants of lands to monasteries and other religious institutions, which, for a considerable time back, had so prevailed, that all the lands of the kingdom were in danger of being swallowed up by the rapacity of the clergy, if legislative interference had not been resorted to; the clergy had been so assiduous in working on the people for this purpose in their last moments.

When this practice by the clergy, of endeavouring to get all landed, as well as personal property, into their own hands, had been counteracted by parliamentary interposition, curious and subtile were the contrivances of the ecclesiastics in eluding from time to time the laws in being. But successive parliaments zealously pursued them through all their finesses. From new remedies, however, sprung new evasions; until the legislature at last obtained a decisive victory.

In the reign of Edward the first, parliament granted a subsidy or tax to the king. The clergy opposed paying any part of this, under pretence that a bull had been sent the year before to the archbishop of Canterbury, and that the archbishop had kept it by him without making it public: by which all ecclesiastics were expressly forbidden to pay any taxes to secular princes without the consent of the holy see. The king, on their persisting in their opposition, commanded all the lay fees possessed by the clergy to be seized, and their whole body to be thrown out of the protection of the laws. He ordered all the estates of the archbishop of Canterbury, the first adviser of the clergy's refusal, to be seized, with the revenues of the monasteries of his diocese, and put the management of them into the hands of officers, who left the monks no more than what was necessary for their subsistence. This king's resolution, magnanimity, and wisdom, overcame the clergy.

In the seventh year of his reign, the statute *de religiosis* provided "that no person, religious or other whatsoever, should buy, or sell, or receive, under pretence of a gift, or term of years, or any other title whatsoever, or should by any act or ingenuity appropriate to himself, any lands or tenements in mortmain; upon pain that the immediate lord of the fee, or, on his default for one year, the lords paramount, and, in default of them all, the king might enter thereon as a forfeiture."

In the year 1300, Edward and Boniface the eighth, having both pretensions to Scotland, Boniface sent Edward a bull, alleging "that from old time the kingdom of Scotland has all along appertained, and does now appertain, to the church of Rome." In the beginning of the next year, the king called a parliament, in order to consult about the pretensions of Boniface to Scotland, and what answer should be returned to his bull. The parliament being no less exasperated than the king, a letter was sent to Rome in answer to the bull, signed by all the barons of the realm, who declared besides, that they had authority to represent the whole community of that kingdom: stating that the crown of England had all along enjoyed

the right of of sovereignty over Scotland, and that it was perfectly notorious that Scotland, as to temporals, never belonged to the church of Rome. That, therefore, the parliament would never suffer the king's prerogative to be called in question, or that he should send ambassadors to Rome upon that score, which Boniface had desired, even though the king himself should be willing to carry so far his confidence for the holy see. Finally, they desired the bishop of Rome to leave the king and people of England in the enjoyment of their rights, without giving them any disturbance.

In the thirty-fifth year of Edward's reign, was made the first statute against papal provisions; being, according to Sir Edward Coke, the foundation of all the subsequent statutes of *premunire*. One of the king's subjects having obtained a bull of excommunication against another, he was convicted and executed as a traitor.

Edward established, confirmed, and settled, the Great Charter and the Charter of Forests. Sir Wm. Blackstone observes, "that it is from this period, from the exact observance of Magna Charta, rather than its making or renewal, in the days of his grand father and his father, that the liberty of Englishmen began again to rear its head, which had flourished in the time of the Saxon kings, and had been infringed since the time of William the first."

In the fifth year of the reign of Edward the third, an act was passed, providing, "that no man shall be attached by any accusation, nor forejudged of life or limb, nor his lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, seized into the king's hands, against the form of the great charter, and the law of the land." In the twenty-fifth of his reign, another act provided, "that none shall be taken by petition or suggestion made to the king, or his council, unless it be by indictment or presentment of lawful people of the same neighbourhood, or by process made by writ original at the common law. And none shall be put out of his franchise or freehold, unless he be duly brought to answer, and forejudged by course of law; and if any thing be done to the contrary, it shall be redressed, and holden for none." The twenty-eighth of Edward the

third also enacts, "that no man shall be put out of land or tenement, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought in answer, by due processs of law." And by the forty-second of Edward the third, "no man shall be put to answer without presentment before justices, or matter of record, or by due process and writ original, acccording to the old law of the land, and if any thing be done to the contrary, it shall be void in law, and holden for error." And, by chapter the first of this statute, "the great charter, and the charter of the forests, shall be kept in all points, and if any statute be made to the contrary, it shall be holden for none."

In Edward the third's reign, 1343, the parliament enacted the statute of provisors; i. e. an act against those who brought provisions from the court of Rome for benefices. Clement the sixth had carried this farther than any of his predecessors. The parliament had complained without effect. Clement, instead of reforming an abuse which conferred all the benefices upon foreigners, had exhorted the king, in a letter, to withdraw the complaints against provisions, which he called an undeniable prerogative of the holy see. Although the statute now passed, nettled Clement to the last degree, he thought fit to make no noise about it, having been informed that the king and parliament had resolved to stand by what they had done, and to contemn any censures he might issue. This is what was called the statute of *premunire*. This, and other statutes passed in his reign, enact severally, "that the court of Rome shall not present or collate to any bishopric or living in England; that whoever disturbs any patron in the presentation to a living, by virtue of a papal provision, such provisor shall pay fine and ransom to the king at his will, and be imprisoned until he renounces such provision: and the same punishment is inflicted on such as cite the king, or any of his subjects, to answer in the court of Rome." When Urban the fifth attempted to to revive the vassalage and annual rent to which King John had subjected the kingdom, it was unanimously agreed by all the estates of the realm, in parliament

assembled, fortieth of Edward the third, "that King John's donation was null and void, being without the concurrence of parliament, and contrary to his coronation oath:" and all the temporal nobility and commoners engaged, that if the bishop of Rome should endeavour, by process or otherwise, to maintain these usurpations, they would resist and withstand him to the utmost of their power.

In this king's reign, in the year 1377, the celebrated John Wickliffe, doctor of divinity in the university of Oxford, began to publish his belief; which was the first origin of that reformation so generally advanced afterwards by Luther in the reign of Henry the eighth.

In the reign of Richard the second, 1380, the parliament passed an act against foreign ecclesiastics, rendering them incapable of holding any benefice in England: and another act forbidding all the king's subjects, on severe penalties, to farm benefices conferred on aliens by the court of Rome. And, in consequence of a petition from the parliament to the king, all foreign monks were expelled, for fear they should instil into the English, notions repugnant to the good of the state.

In 1382, in consequence of a petition from the commons, the king revoked the grant empowering the bishops to imprison heretics.

In 1391, the parliament revived the statute of Edward the third, and confirmed it, making it high treason to bring into the kingdom provisions from the court of Rome, without the king's license. On this, a nuncio was sent into England, who threatened extreme measures: but his menaces were disregarded.

The fifteenth of Richard the second recites, "that of late some spiritual persons have entered into lands adjoining to their churches, and of the same, by sufferance of the tenants, have made church yards, and, by bulls of the bishop of Rome, have hallowed the same, without license of the king and of the lords;" and therefore declares, "that it is within the statute of mortmain, seventh of Edward the first:" and "that no purchase shall be made so as spiritual persons shall take the profits, upon pain of

forfeiture; and the statute shall be kept of all lands, advowsons, and other possessions, to be purchased to the use of guilds or fraternities." This appropriation of lands, under the pretence of church yards, was one of the modes by which the clergy endeavoured to elude the former statutes of mortmain.

In 1395, the Lollards had made instances in parliament, to set on foot a reformation of the church. They delivered a remonstrance into the house against the corruptions of the church, containing twelve articles. The king tried to suppress this sect, and compelled Sir Richard Story publicly to abjure their doctrine, threatening to punish him with death if ever he returned to it.

Wickliffe had written against the bishop of Rome's exactions, and the corruptions of religion; had exposed the impositions of the mendicant friars; and had, in the reign of Edward the third, published a defence of his sovereign against the bishop of Rome, who claimed homage similar to that of King John. Continuing to oppose the papal authority, in 1377, a bull was sent to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, ordering them to secure this arch heretic, and lay him in irons; a letter to the king, requesting him to favour the bishops in the prosecution; and a bull to Oxford, commanding the university to give him up. Before these documents reached England, Edward the third was dead; and Wickliffe, protected by John, duke of Lancaster, uncle to Richard the second, favoured by the queen mother, and supported by the citizens of London, eluded the persecution of Gregory the ninth, who died in 1378. Soon after, he presented to the parliament a remonstrance against the tyranny of Rome; wrote against the papal supremacy and infallibility; and published a book on the truth of the scriptures, to prepare the way for an English translation of them. After his death, the followers of his doctrine, whose numbers had been considerable in his life time, increased prodigiously, which materially paved the way for the important results which were effected afterwards by Luther's writings, in the reign of Henry the eighth. They began to separate from the church of

Rome in 1389, and to appoint priests from among themselves to perform divine service. They were called Lollards, from a sect which had arisen before Wickliffe's time, in Germany; so denominated from Walter Lollard, who, in 1315, began to publish doctrines opposite to those of Rome, and was arrested at Cologne, by order of the inquisition, tried for heresy, and burned in 1322.

Of the inquisition, or "holy office," as it is termed, it will, perhaps, here be considered apposite to furnish the reader with a compressed account. Its origin is discernible in a council at Verona, in 1184, when Lucius, bishop of Rome, ordered the bishops to get information of persons suspected of heresy; and distinguished the several degrees of suspected, convicted, penitent, relapsed, &c. In the year 1206, Dominic de Gusman, founder of the Dominican order of monks, preached with great fury against the Vaudois, and Albigenses, against whom Innocent the third had ordered a croisade. An unrelenting persecution commenced against them; which, in 1209, increased to such fury, that the most dreadful and exterminating war was raised against them, which continued for twenty years from that period, until they were suppressed. By Dominic, in the city of Thoulouse, and province of Languedoc, in France, the first inquisition was erected: which institution was confirmed by Innocent the third, in the council of Lateran, in 1215. But, in a council held at Thoulouse, in 1229, the bishop of Rome's legate presiding, a council of inquisitors was erected in every city, consisting of one priest and three laymen. This council was superseded in 1233, by Gregory the ninth, who commissioned the Dominicans to discover and bring to judgment the heretics lurking in France. The Dominicans, thus constituted inquisitors of "heretical pravity," executed their commission with zeal and perseverance. In process of time, the inquisition made its way into other countries, although not every where with the same success. The Roman pontiffs persuaded the European princes, particularly the emperor, Frederick the second, and Lewis the ninth, king of France, not only to enact the most barbarous laws against heretics, and to

commit to the flames those who were pronounced such by the inquisitors, but also to maintain the inquisitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the most open and solemn manner. Innocent the fourth erected a perpetual tribunal of inquisitors; which, depending on himself, he introduced into various states. In 1251, the inquisition was established in Italy; and in 1255, in France. But the barbarous massacres of reputed heretics, caused universal detestation of this infernal tribunal to pervade these countries. In France and Germany, its reign proved very short. In Spain and Portugal, it has raged with the most shocking, diabolical cruelty; of the process of which I shall give a description. But as it was not introduced into these countries, until a period subsequent to that at which I am arrived in my historical relation, I shall defer this account to its proper order of time. But before I proceed with my succeeding matter, it will be applicable to give some description of the order of Dominicans; the principal agents in the inhuman and antichristian inquisition. This order was itself founded in 1206, and is diffused throughout most countries. It has forty-five provinces, and twelve particular congregations, or reforms, governed by vicars-general; the whole subject to a general, who resides at Rome. Of all the monastic orders, none enjoyed a higher degree of power and authority than the Dominican friars; whose credit was great, and influence universal. But the measures they used to extend their authority, were so perfidious and cruel, that their influence began to decline towards the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their incessant employment was, stigmatizing pious and learned men with heresy; encroaching on the rights and properties of others, to augment their possessions; and laying the most iniquitous snares and stratagems for the destruction of their adversaries. The papal see never had more active and useful abettors than this order, and that of the Jesuits, instituted afterwards. The first Dominican monastery in England, was founded at Oxford, in 1221.—But I return to my relation.

The Wickliffites, or Lollards, as they were called, were persecuted by Henry the fourth; who, in the com-

mencement of his reign, promised the clergy to join with them in measures to extirpate heresy, and punish obstinate heretics. This was highly pleasing to the clergy, who feared a reformation, as hurtful to their temporal interests. Nevertheless, in 1401, the statute of premunire was confirmed and enlarged. By premunire is meant either the statute itself, or the penalty annexed to it. It chiefly regards offences committed in matters ecclesiastical, wherein the civil jurisdiction is concerned. But though the king did not refuse assent to the new statute, he connived at the breach of it more than any of his predecessors. To ingratiate himself with the clergy, he recommended zealously to the parliament, the concerns of the church. The power of the court, and the cabals of the clergy, overcame the reluctance of the house of commons, and an act was passed, 1401, for the burning of obstinate heretics. William Sawtre, parish priest of St. Osith, in London, was the first English martyr, under this diabolical act. He was burned alive by virtue of the king's "*writ de heretico comburendo*," directed to the mayor of London. Notwithstanding the severity of persecution in this reign, the followers of Wickliffe's doctrine increased continually; which made the bishops obtain from the king, 1409, an order to Oxford university to meet in convocation; in which Wickliffe's books were condemned, and the members forbidden to preach or teach the doctrine therein contained, on pain of degradation.

In 1410, the commons presented two petitions to the king; one against the clergy, stating that they made an ill use of their riches, which they laid out in a very different manner from the intent of the donors: and that it was necessary to lessen them, by which the poor could be more amply provided for, &c.: the other, praying, that the statute enacted against the Lollards might be repealed or altered. Both these the king rejected, and had the inhumanity to add, that he wished rather the rigour of the statute against the Lollards was heightened, that heresy might be entirely rooted out of the kingdom. He had the bigotry and injustice also to reject another petition from the commons, requiring that clerks con-

victed of any crime, should not be tried in the ecclesiastical courts; a point which Henry the second, and his peers, had formerly disputed so vigorously with Alexander the third. To let the commons see how far he was from countenancing them, he signed a warrant for the immediate burning of one Thomas Badby; who firmly refused the offer of his life, on condition of recanting, and in the most heroic manner suffered a glorious martyrdom. This execution the commons looked on as an insult; and when the king required a subsidy, the bill was resolutely thrown out.

In the first year of Henry the fifth, the clergy, in convocation, resolved, that there was no way of rooting out the Lollard heresy, unless care was taken to inflict exemplary punishments on its principal abettors; of whom, the most considerable and dangerous was Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham; who, as a terror to the sect, should be taken to task, and an action entered against him for heresy. Henry giving way to the clergy, Sir John was committed to the Tower, condemned as a heretic, delivered over to the secular power, and would have been then put to death, if he had not escaped to Wales, where he concealed himself. In three years afterwards, 1416, while the king was in France, he was, by the infernal machinations of the clergy, seized, brought to London, hung by the middle with a chain, and burned alive for heresy, amidst the curses and imprecations of the priests and monks, who even laboured to prevent the people from praying for him.

In this reign, the persecution of the Lollards became very severe, under the influence of the clergy, and numbers of them were burned alive.

In the year 1421, however, the king issued a proclamation, prohibiting the admitting into benefices any ecclesiastics, upon the bishop of Rome's provisions, contrary to the rights of the patrons. This was a mortal blow to the court of Rome, to which the clause *non obstante*, so frequently made use of by the bishops of Rome, became unserviceable at least, with regard to the collation of the benefices. And in Henry the fifth's

reign, the alien priories, or abbeys for foreign monks, were suppressed, and their lands given to the crown.

Edward the fourth, in 1462, to gain the clergy to his interests, amidst the contending interests of the houses of York and Lancaster, granted them a favour which none of his predecessors had ever done willingly, except Henry the fourth:—That all ecclesiastical persons indicted for any crime, should be tried in the ecclesiastical court, without the king's judges having any thing to do in the matter. By the same charter, he screened the clergy from the penalties of the statutes of provisors and premunire, passed in the reign of Richard the second.

Except a bull from the bishop of Rome, in the reign of Henry the seventh, containing a dispensation for his marriage with Edward the fourth's sister, and declaring, "that he confirmed the act of parliament touching King Henry's title, and the succession of his children, supporting by his apostolical authority, all defects that might in any way occur therein:" I find nothing, until the reign of Henry the eighth, sufficiently material to the question in which I am engaged, to require particular or lengthened detail; it being my intention to use brevity wherever I can, consistently with the nature of the subject.

Of the intermediate time, therefore, it will be sufficient to observe, that the corruptions of the church of Rome, and of the clergy, with infatuated coincidence, kept pace with the light which had been breaking in on many parts of Europe. In England, the Lollards had continued to increase daily: and although, during this period before Henry's reign, the reformed doctrine of those sometimes termed Lollards, and sometimes Wickliffites, was not yet embraced by the majority of the English people; yet the majority was very considerable indeed, who were loud in opposing the usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome, and the clergy. They had complained of appeals to Rome; of citations to Rome, caused by appeals, productive of heavy expenses, and incessant fatigue and difficulty; of the usurpation of

the collation of preferments, by the bishop of Rome, contrary to the rights of the king, the chapters, and the patrons; of provisions, granting benefices before a vacancy; and that such provisions were granted to foreigners; of the frequent taxes imposed by the bishops of Rome on the clergy, under colour of croisades, and the necessities of the holy see; of legates and nuncios, whom the people were obliged to maintain at a great expense; of the bishops of Rome having got the first fruits of all the benefices; of Peter pence; of King John's tribute; of the continual encroachments of the clergy on the prerogatives of the crown; of the clergy extending their jurisdiction to civil matters, under pretence, that there is nothing but what religion may be concerned in; and of the ecclesiastics being always ready to side with the bishop of Rome, as if he were their only sovereign, instead of standing by the rights and prerogatives of the crown.

The inquisition in Spain was erected, also, in this interval. It was first introduced into Spain in 1478; but the first inquisitor-general, and the supreme council of the inquisition, were not fixed until 1483. The inquisitor-general, who directs and governs it, is appointed by the king, and confirmed by the bishop of Rome. It assumes power to name particular inquisitors in every place where there is any tribunal of the inquisition. The king, before his coronation, subjects himself and all his dominions, by a special oath, to the "most holy tribunal of the inquisition." The inquisitors derive their power from the bishop of Rome. Confiscation of goods is inflicted on all who are convicted of heresy, or confess, whether they repent or persist in their heresy, because they are declared to incur the punishment, *ipso jure*, as soon as they fall into heresy; also disinheriting their children; infamy, excluding from public offices, bearing witness, &c.; loss of dominion of parents over children, masters over servants, magistrates and princes over subjects, &c.; excommunication, depriving from public protection, and benefit of law; and any person may plunder or kill such heretics; nor is it lawful for any to undertake their defence; those

pleading for them are pronounced infamous, and suspended from office; and finally death, by burning alive, in some cases heightened by being gagged with an iron instrument, so that in the midst of their torments they can only utter an inarticulate sound.

In its proceedings, which are conducted with the profoundest silence and secrecy, the inquisition affects to inspire terror and amazement; and the efforts of priestcraft are attended, in its power over the debased and enslaved population of Spain, with complete success.—The people stand so much in fear of the inquisition, that husbands, parents, &c., deliver up their wives, children, &c., without daring to murmur. When a person is seized, all the world abandons him; not the nearest friend dares to speak a word in his defence; that alone would be enough to render him suspected of heresy, and would bring him within the claws of the inquisition; nay, the nearest relations are bribed and constrained to accuse one another. The criminals are seized, examined, tortured, and, unless they recant, are even condemned and executed, without ever seeing or knowing their accusers; whence the revengeful derive opportunity of wreaking their malice on their enemies. By the forms of the inquisition, a person defamed only for heresy is obliged to make a canonical purgation, i. e. to purge himself with seven compurgators; if he fails in which, he is accounted guilty. If two witnesses testify of different facts, sometimes if only one, or, on a mere report, the torture is ordered. The evidence of two according witnesses ensures condemnation. The prisoners are even constrained to become their own accusers: and various arts are used to extort a confession from them. The advocate allowed them is under the direction of the inquisition, and employed chiefly in order to betray them. Tortures are used under pretence of discovering the truth, and varied and continued with the most wanton cruelty. When there is no shadow of proof against the pretended criminal, he is discharged, after suffering the most cruel tortures, a long imprisonment, and the loss of the greatest part of his effects.

The sentence against the prisoners is pronounced publicly, and with extraordinary solemnity. An amphitheatre is erected, in which a rich altar is placed. This last act of the inquisitorial tragedy is called an "*auto da fe*," (act of faith;) is always on a Sunday, or on some great festival; and is appointed when a great number of prisoners are convicted of heresy, either by their own voluntary or extorted confession, or on the evidence of certain witnesses. The procession is led by Dominicans: the prisoners follow: first those who have escaped being burned; next the negative, and relapsed, who are to be burned, having flames on their habits pointing upwards. After these, come such as profess doctrines contrary to the Romish faith, who, beside flames pointing upwards, have their pictures painted on their breasts, with dogs, serpents, and devils, all open mouthed, about them. Each prisoner is attended with a familiar of the inquisition; and those to be burned have also a Jesuit on each hand, continually preaching to them to abjure. After the prisoners, come a troop of familiars on horseback; and after them, the inquisitors, and other officers of the court, on mules; and, last, the inquisitor-general, on a white horse, led by two men with black hats and green hat-bands. The prisoners are placed on the altar in the amphitheatre; over against which is a high chair, whither they are called, one by one, to hear their doom, from one of the inquisitors. The inquisitors, who are ecclesiastics, do not, however, publicly pronounce the sentence of death; but read an act, delivering the criminal to the secular power, which they deliver to seven lay judges, who attend at the right side of the altar, and pass sentence. By the civil magistrate, they are loaded with chains, and carried to gaol, and, in two hours, brought before the civil judge; who asks them in what religion they will die; and pronounces sentence on those dying Romanists, to be strangled and burned, and on all others, to be burned alive! Stakes are immediately erected, and dry furze placed round them. The stakes of such as persist in their heresy, are four yards high, and the prisoners are placed on a board at the top. The "negative and relapsed" being first strangled

and burned; the "persisting heretics" mount the stake, by a ladder; and the Jesuits, after repeated exhortations to be reconciled to the church, part with them; telling them, that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell. On this, a great shout is raised; and the cry is, "Let the dog's beards be made!" which is done by thrusting flaming furzes, fastened to long poles, against their faces, until their faces are burned to a coal, which is accompanied with loud acclamations of joy. At last, fire is set to the furze at the bottom of the stake, over which the prisoners are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reaches higher than the seat they sit on; so that they seem rather roasted than burned. With the most heart-rending cries for pity, heard by all sexes and ages with transports of joy, they are at last relieved by death!

When Henry the eighth came to the crown, the bishops of Rome had engrossed the collations of all sees, by anticipated reservations, so that when the king wished to promote Wolsey, he was obliged to ask of Leo the tenth, the bishopric of Lincoln for him, in the year 1514.

In the year 1515, the clergy refused Leo a subsidy; but in 1517, he succeeded in levying a tenth on them.

I now hasten to the important accounts of indulgences, Luther, and the overthrow of the papal usurpation.

The first origin of *indulgences*, was in the latter part of the eleventh century. They were subsequently disposed of for money. But the sale of indulgences, which was publicly and generally promulgated throughout Christendom in 1517, by Leo the tenth, calls for particular attention.

Leo, on pretence of a war with the Turks, caused to be publicly and generally sold, at a low rate, to induce the greater quantity of purchasers, what he termed—"plenary indulgences;" for which he opened a general mart. These indulgences were preached to be capable, out of the inexhaustible treasure of the church, arising from the merits of Christ, and works of supererogation of the saints, of granting to the greatest and most profli-

gate sinners, a plenary remission of sin: so that each person possessed of one of these, should become, at the moment, pure, white, and spotless. The benefit of them was to extend even to the dead; whose souls, upon payment of so much money, were to be immediately redeemed out of purgatory. The money arising from the sale of these plenary indulgences, Leo assigned to his own private uses. Collectors were appointed in every christian state, to receive this money; and preachers to cry up the benefit of the indulgences.

Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, and professor of divinity in the university of Wittemberg, published some strictures on these preachers, and on the sale of indulgences, with some satirical remarks on the indulgences themselves. This created him enemies; but their opposition only made him more determined, and excited him to more strict inquiry: by which he found that indulgences had no foundation in holy writ. He then extended his inquiries; conscientiously applied himself to set the world right as to the papal usurpation; and taught his disciples to renounce all human authority, and resort to the word of God as the true standard of christian faith and duty.

Leo, at first, did not mind Luther. Despising what he conceived the inconsiderable opposition of a single friar, he continued, without ceasing, to sell his indulgences. He exhorted all christians to contribute to the war against the infidels, according to their abilities, which would procure them, beside temporal advantages, deliverance from purgatory. He wrote to King Henry to demand two hundred thousand ducats, which Henry refused.

In 1520, Luther, whose defection then made a great noise in Germany, began to be considered more formidable by Leo, from whose authority he had appealed to a general council. Leo tried to gain him by promises and threatenings; but all being in vain, he published a bull of excommunication against him and his followers.

Luther, undismayed, renewed his appeal to a council in very harsh terms. Leo, exasperated that a poor monk should dare to brave him thus, desired the elector of

Saxony to put him to death, or send him to Rome. The elector refusing to do either, Leo's nuncio ordered Luther's books to be publicly burned at Cologne; and Luther caused the bull and decretals to be burned openly at Wittemberg; and published a manifesto in defence of his proceedings. He found himself supported by the elector, his sovereign, who earnestly desired to see a reformation in the church. His writings greatly promoted the reformation in Germany. His book on the Babylonish captivity, in which the bishops of Rome were treated without reserve, attracted great notice. The reformation began also to spread in Switzerland, France, and England.

Of Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, his brother Arthur's widow, and of his divorce from her, the minute relation of which would be foreign to my purpose, I shall only remark: first, that this marriage, forbidden by the moral and eternal law of God, took place in consequence of a *dispensation*, which had been granted by Julius the second; another daring and impious branch of papal presumption: and, secondly, that the divorce, falsely laid down by Romish writers as the cause of the change of religion, did but accelerate the progress of the reformation; the foundation of which had been widely laid by Wickliffe and Luther. Of Luther's book, vast quantities had been brought into England. Henry, and his affairs, were but the instruments in the hands of Divine Providence, for quickening the march of truth. His bold and intrepid spirit, co-operating with the outcry of his people against the papal tyranny, which now began to be very general, successfully resisted and overthrew it: an event which was inevitable, when the king's interests and his people's were the same.

In 1524, Charles the fifth, emperor of Germany, passed a decree, at the diet of Worms, banishing Luther and all his adherents.

In 1525, fifty thousand of Luther's followers were murdered in Franconia.

In 1529, the emperor called a diet at Spires; where it was ordered, that those who had hitherto obeyed the

decree of Worms should continue to do so, and the rest that had not submitted to it, should make no innovations in religion, nor hinder their subjects from going to mass. Against this decree, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the princes of Lunenberg, made a solemn protestation; from which all their party had the name of *Protestants*. This protestation, which was presented to the emperor by deputies, met a rough reception; which obliged the protestants to join together for their common defence. Hence those, in every country, who professed the reformed, or, in other words, primitive and scriptural doctrine, which the reformation but *restored*, were termed protestants.

Henry, as the breach widened between him and Clement the seventh, then bishop of Rome, on the subject of the divorce, fearing a bull of excommunication or interdict, issued a proclamation, forbidding, under severe penalties, the receiving any bull from Rome, contrary to the prerogatives of the crown. The next step the king took, was to order an indictment in the court of king's bench, against all the clergy, on the statute of premunire; they having appeared in Cardinal Wolsey's court, and thereby owned his legatine authority, which he had been accused by the attorney-general of having exercised in England without the king's special license. The clergy, in convocation, came to a resolution to offer the king 100,000l. for a pardon, and to acknowledge him supreme head of the church of England. The king granted them a pardon.

A statute against appeals to Rome, on pain of incurring premunire, was passed in 1533.

In 1534, the statute of Henry the fourth against heretics, was repealed. This proceeded not, however, from the principle of toleration. Henry the eighth by no means coincided with the more liberal and enlightened views of such as wished to promote a thorough reformation. His object was merely to throw off the papal yoke. This he determined to throw off, both in temporals and spirituals. The entire population of England had been oppressed by its daily influence in temporals; and

the celebrated Doctor Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and all the well informed of the clergy, had pronounced it repugnant to the doctrine of the holy scriptures, in spirituals. Almost all agreed, then, in the necessity of both temporal and spiritual emancipation from this worse than Egyptian captivity. But the king, not satisfied with the supremacy in civil and ecclesiastical causes, uncontrolled by clerical or papal usurpation, to which he was justly and lawfully entitled, would have also the spiritual rule himself, in the most literal sense, in matters of faith, which he was about wresting from the bishop of Rome and the clergy; a rule which neither he nor the bishop of Rome, the clergy, or any mortals, with a becoming sense of themselves, would ever have assumed, and which belongs alone to the Father of Spirits. In 1531 and 1532, three protestants had been burned as heretics; and now, 1534, the act repealing that of Henry the fourth, was not intended to exempt them; for it was enacted that they should be burned; but only to hinder the clergy from being sole judges in causes of this nature. By the statute of Henry the fourth, bishops might, upon suspicion of heresy, commit any person to prison, without presentment or accusation, contrary to what was practised in all other cases. This was repealed; but those of Richard the second and Henry the fifth, were left still in force, with a regulation, that heretics should be proceeded against upon presentments, by two witnesses at least, and then committed, but brought to answer to their indictments in open court; and if found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapse, to be adjudged to death; the king's writ, de heretico comburendo, being first had. Even this must be allowed to have been a qualification and abatement of the dark and inquisitorial tyranny before practised. It at least contracted the limits of priestly dominion over the intellects of men; but it by no means accorded with the principles of civil and religious liberty, which must be considered coexistent with, and inseparable from, the very nature of legitimate government. It certainly had the effect of putting protestants more on their guard; but, at the same time, of

taking away from them, as far as in it lay, in this probationary state of existence, "the liberty with which Christ has made us free." So that a protestant, urged really and conscientiously by the paramount and scriptural considerations, drawn from a future state of existence; (which has always been the pretence of the church of Rome, even in its utmost usurpations of temporal power;) in short, a protestant, influenced by the most reasonable kind of fear, that he should ultimately be denied by the Messiah before his Father in heaven, if he denied him; which certainly applies to a denial of his doctrine; and, on the other hand, impelled by the most affecting and animating of all incitements, that he should be confessed by the Messiah, if he confessed him; and, what is obviously included, his doctrine; was by such confession, obnoxious to the pains of this act of parliament, which warranted the burning him as a heretic. These observations I am fully warranted in making. Succeeding facts in Henry's reign, beside this statute itself, confirm the truth of them. Very different, indeed, is the nature of the ecclesiastical supremacy, which, in this enlightened age, under our present mild and free form of government, is lodged in the higher powers. But of this I shall speak more fully in the sequel.

The news having arrived, that sentence of excommunication had been pronounced and published at Rome against Henry, the legislature immediately determined to proceed vigorously; and passed an act at once, to abolish the papal authority in England. By this act, Sir William Blackstone observes, "the crown was restored to its supremacy over spiritual men and causes, and the patronage of bishoprics was once more indisputably vested in the king; and had the spiritual courts been at this time re-united to the civil, we should have seen the old Saxon constitution with regard to ecclesiastical polity, completely restored." One of the provisions of this act is, that when a bishopric shall become vacant, the king shall send to the chapter *a conge d'elire;* and in case the election shall not be over within twelve days after the license, it shall belong to the king. That the bishop elect

shall swear fealty to the king, and then be recommended by his majesty to the archbishop to be consecrated. That if the bishop elect, or archbishop, refuse to obey the contents of the act, they shall be liable to the pains of premunire. All persons were expressly forbidden to apply to the bishop of Rome for bulls, palls, and the like. It abolished Peter pence, and all procurations, delegations, expedition of bulls and dispensations from Rome; and the archbishop of Canterbury was appointed to grant all such dispensations, &c., as should not be contrary to the law of God.

When this act passed, all the members of the parliament swore to observe its provisions, and the king sent commissioners throughout the kingdom, to administer the same oath to all his subjects. The collection of the public acts, contains the oaths of several abbots and friars of all orders, to this effect: that they would be faithful to the king, &c.; that they owned the king for supreme head of the church of England; that the bishop of Rome has no more jurisdiction than any other bishop; that they renounced his obedience; that they would preach sincerely, doctrines agreeable to the holy scriptures, &c.

Soon after, an act was passed to confirm the king's title of supreme head of the church of England, which the clergy had already given him. And a proclamation was issued by the king, forbidding to give the bishop of Rome the name of pope, and commanding that name to be erased from all books, that the remembrance of it might be lost if possible. Then the bishops voluntarily swore to renounce expressly all obedience to the bishop of Rome.

But, essentially important as these decisive measures were to the cause of the reformation ultimately, its doctrines, for the reasons I have already stated, could but silently advance, without being able openly to make much progress in this reign. Cardinal Wolsey, whatever had been his demerits, is justly entitled to have it recorded, as a merit by no means inconsiderable, in that age of persecution and bigotry, that no person was prosecuted for heresy during his ministry: and opportunities had not been wanting, which the clergy would have seized, if he

had suffered them. Wolsey's successor, Sir Thomas More, persuaded the king, that what hurted his interest at Rome, was the report of his favouring innovations; and that to remove this false imputation, he must shew a zeal for the church. Henry took this advice; prosecuted heretics; and prohibited importation of their books. But notwithstanding this prohibition, Luther's books made their way, and also Tindal's translation of the new testament; who had withdrawn to Flanders. Tonstall, bishop of London, caused some copies of the new testament to be seized, and publicly burned by the hangman. But this turned to the advantage of the reformation: for the people inferring that the scriptures were contrary to the religion professed, from these efforts to suppress them, their desire increased to read them. Sir Thomas More, while in power, cruelly persecuted the protestants; many of whom suffered martyrdom with wonderful constancy, which helped greatly to confirm their brethren. The king, at length, thought fit to stop More's persecution. Anna Bullen, Archbishop Cranmer, and Thomas Cromwell, were, under God, the instruments chiefly in procuring from this bigotted and capricious king, the boon of mercy for this persecuted and faithful people.

In the year 1535, Sir Thomas More, after having persecuted unto death numbers of true witnesses, who, with the most heroic fortitude, sealed the truth with their blood, found how frail his own assurance was with Henry. Sir Thomas More, late chancellor, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and some priors, monks and others, were tried and executed for denying the king's supremacy. Paul the third, who had succeeded Clement the seventh, immediately on hearing this, drew up a thundering *bull*, excommunicating Henry, and absolving his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; ordering all ecclesiastics to depart his dominions, and the nobility to take up arms against him; putting the kingdom under an interdict, and forbidding all christians to have any commerce with the English; annulling all foreign treaties made with him, &c.

In the mean time, Henry, finding that the monks were daily corrupting his subjects, by insinuating to them that

he was going to overturn all religion, set about suppressing the monasteries. But, as he thought it prudent to remove any prejudices in favour of the monks, he began with ordering a general visitation, appointing Thomas Cromwell visitor-general. Several of the abbots and priors surrendered their houses to the king. The first surrender was by the abbot of Langden, who, upon Doctor Leighton's breaking open his door on a sudden, was found in bed with a prostitute, who went in the habit of a lay brother. The reports of the commissioners, or visitors, were made public, for the information of the people; containing monstrous disorders and horrible crimes. To wit: lewdness of the confessors of nunneries, and great corruption of the nunneries, whole houses being found almost all with child; dissoluteness of abbots, and the other monks and friars, not only with harlots, but married women; one hundred and forty-four houses containing abominations equal to any that were in Sodom; a trade driven with images and relics, to enrich the monasteries, by cherishing the people's superstition. Among these were exposed to the sight of the people, the forged relics found in the monasteries, and the springs by which the images of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, or any of the saints, were made to move, which had been looked on by the ignorant multitude as the effect of divine power. Shame and fear of punishment having impelled a considerable number to surrender, the others were suppressed by an act of parliament.

In 1536, it was resolved in the convocation, to let the people have the bible in English. The same year, the parliament confirmed what had been done against the papal authority. They enacted, that all persons were to incur the pains of a premunire, who endeavoured to restore in England the authority of the bishop of Rome; and all officers, both civil and military, were commanded, under severe penalties, to punish those who should dare to break the statute. Soon after, the reformers felt somewhat encouraged with respect even to the doctrine; in that some ground was gained against images and purgatory, and that the scriptures were made the stand-

ard of faith by the convocation and the king. This year also, a rebellion broke out, excited by the monks and friars, to restore the papal authority, and other matters, to their old footing. The rebels, menaced with destruction by the preparations made to subdue them, were induced, after a little time, to lay down their arms, and accept of a pardon which was offered. But the rebellion breaking out again, the rebels were defeated, and a number of them taken and executed.

This year, also, the inquisition was established in Portugal.

In 1538, by the insidious counsel of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, the king was again incited to persecute the reformers. One Lambert was burned; whom the king gave his choice either of that alternative, or to abjure his doctrine. But Lambert's faith and constancy were not to be shaken.

Henry, however, lost not sight of his main object; and this year required of all the religious a new oath, whereby they expressly renounced the papal authority, and acknowledged the king's supremacy. But, determined to shew, that in abolishing the papal authority, and destroying the monasteries, he had not changed his religion, he proposed to the parliament, in 1539, "an act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning christian religion." This act passed, and is known by the name of "the bloody statute." It consisted of six articles. The pain of burning or hanging, was enacted against those:

1st...Who by word or writing denied transubstantiation.
2d...Who maintained that communion in both kinds was necessary.
3d...Or that it was lawful for priests to marry.
4th..Or that vows of chastity may be broken.
5th..Or that private masses are unprofitable.
6th..Or that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.

Cranmer, previous to the passing of the bill, argued against these six articles three successive days. When the bill was about to be passed, the king desired Cranmer,

to whom he was very partial, notwithstanding his being one of the leading reformers, to go out of the house, since he could not give his consent to it. Cranmer answered, that "he humbly excused himself, for he thought he was obliged to stay and vote against it." This law presented the most curious anomaly that perhaps ever occurred in any age or nation, as there was hardly a person in the kingdom, but who believed either more or less than the king; and yet no one could openly, with impunity, make the avowal. But the reformers were the greatest sufferers by it; and this had been so planned by the designing and cruel Gardiner, who was the real author of it. He had hinted to the king, that it was the only means to hinder a league from being formed against him: that what he had abolished not being essential to religion, nor considered as such by the generality of christians, no man of sound judgment would deem him heretical, as long as he maintained these six articles, which entirely distinguished true catholics from sectaries and innovators. By this counsel, he took the king by his weak side; and he was artful enough to conceal wherein he differed from him, as to the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, &c.; and which, indeed, he dared not avow.

The most flagitious stratagems, and artful snares, were resorted to, to draw people in to discover opinions which they intended, in obedience to the law, to conceal. This being made appear to the king, by Cromwell, the chancellor, and five hundred people in London alone having been, within a few days, committed to prison on this account, he pardoned them all.

The dissimulation and artifice of that dark and Jesuitical prelate, Gardiner, would have been more prejudicial to the progress of the reformation, if the reformers had not taken occasion, from the king's being extremely jealous of his supremacy, to remonstrate, and explain to him, that nothing but the reading of the holy scriptures could undeceive the people of the false notion they had entertained of the papal authority. Bibles were therefore set up in churches, which every person had liberty to go and read. But Cranmer farther pressed the necessity of the

king giving his subjects leave to have bibles in their houses. By this innocent stratagem, the people became generally enlightened in many other matters beside that which induced the liberty. Gardiner tried all he could, to parry this fatal blow to his flagitious manœuvres, but in vain.

In 1540, Cromwell fell by the malice of Gardiner and the duke of Norfolk: after which, the prosecutions on the act of the six articles, which had been suspended, were renewed. An act now passed, directing that whatever the king should enjoin for the future, in matters of religion, should be *believed* and obeyed by all his subjects. This was investing the king with the infallibility taken from the bishop of Rome. People of the opposite religions were now executed at the same time and place together; some for denying the king's supremacy, and maintaining the papal authority; others for maintaining the Lutheran doctrines. By the diabolical craft of Gardiner, aided by his party, Archbishop Cranmer's fall would have followed that of Cromwell, but for the king's esteem for, and good opinion of him.

In 1541, Paul the third established, by a bull, the order of Jesuits, which had been founded by Ignatius Loyola. Their founder gave out, and his followers still teach, that their plan was suggested by the immediate inspiration of heaven. They take a vow of implicit obedience to the bishop of Rome, binding themselves to go whithersoever he should command, for the service of religion; and also a vow of implicit obedience to their general, who is subject to the bishop of Rome. At a time when the papal authority had received such a shock, by the revolt of so many nations from the Romish church, the acquisition of a body of men, thus peculiarly devoted, was eagerly embraced by Paul, whose bull granted them the most ample privileges, and appointed Loyola the first general of the order. The Jesuits, who have been called by the council of Trent, "regular clerks of the company of Jesus," quickly obtained establishments in every Romish country, and increased in power, wealth, and numbers. Laynez and Aquaviva,

the generals who succeeded Loyola, perfected the system of profound and artful policy which distinguishes the order. Their efforts are particularly directed to obtain influence in the conduct of the affairs of the world. They consider themselves as formed for action; as chosen soldiers in the service of the "apostolical vicar." Whatever tends to reclaim or oppose the enemies of the Roman see, is their proper object. That they may have full leisure for this active service, they are totally exempted from those observances to which other orders are bound. They are required to attend to all the transactions of the world, on account of the influence which these may have upon religion. They are directed to study the dispositions of persons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendship; and, by the very constitution as well as genius of their order, a spirit of action and intrigue is infused into all its members. The power of the general is so great, that the members must resign their own opinions, and be mere passive instruments. The constitutions of the order, provide for the general being perfectly informed of the character and abilities of his subjects. Every novice must confess not only his sins and defects, but make discovery of the inclinations, passions, and bent of his soul; which he must renew every six months. Farther, the members are constituted spies on every word and action of the novices, which they are bound, if of any importance, to disclose to the superior; and a long novitiate must expire, with various gradations of ranks, and the novices must have arrived at thirty-three years of age, before they can be admitted to take the final vows, and become professed members. The superiors, or heads of the several houses, are obliged to transmit to the general, regular reports concerning the members under their inspection; detailing each individual's character, abilities, temper, experience, and the department for which he is best fitted. These reports are arranged, and entered in registers, in order that the general may, at one comprehensive view, survey the state of the society in every kingdom, and observe accurately to what particular service each individual is fitted

to be most effectually an instrument. The general, who resides at Rome, receives also, by the constitutions of the order, an account of the civil affairs of the country where his subjects reside; so that he is furnished with full information concerning the transactions of every prince and state in the world.

The Jesuitical writers teach the lawfulness of killing heretical kings; that no faith is to be kept with, nor no oaths are binding to, heretics; and that the end justifies the means.

In 1544, a decree was passed in the diet at Spires, in Germany, that the protestants should not be disturbed in the exercise of their religion; which the emperor consented to, to obtain pecuniary assistance from the princes of Germany. Paul the third, to prevent them from enjoying long a toleration which had been granted until a council should meet, fixed that the council of Trent should open the 25th of March, 1545. In 1545, the emperor, coming to Worms, where the diet of the empire was held, declared to them in plain terms, that he could not dispense with their submitting to the council which was to meet at Trent. This indicated a design to reduce them by force; and there was a league between Paul the third, and the emperor. A Franciscan friar had also preached before the emperor, recommending to him to extirpate the Lutherans; and the emperor had written to the king of Poland, to stir him up against them. On the 13th of December, the council at last met at Trent. The legates, presiding in the name of Paul, declared that the council was assembled for three causes; to destroy heresy—to reform discipline—and to settle a lasting peace between christian princes. This concluded the first session of the council, which was held only for opening it.

In 1547, Edward the sixth succeeded his father, Henry the eighth. The six years of this accomplished and lamented young king's reign, who was but nine years old at his accession, and fifteen at his death, greatly advanced the reformation; which, in his father's reign, had been confined to such matters only as were contrary

to his civil power, or, at most, his ecclesiastical supremacy. The reformers became so numerous and strong, that their enemies could not oppose them. Of these, the principal were :—first, the king, who had made surprising progress in religion, and all other valuable acquirements, under the careful tuition of Doctor Cox, so as to have become the wonder and prodigy of the age; next, Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, and protector of the realm ; Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Holgate, Holbeach, Goodrick, Ridley, and Latimer. The acts against the Lollards, and that of the six articles, were quickly repealed. Private masses were abolished ; it was left to the people's choice to go to confession or not; and images were taken out of churches.

In 1548, an important event happened in Germany. The bishop of Rome, having translated the council of Trent to Bologne, the emperor protested against the translation, which protestation the bishop of Rome rejected. The emperor, resolving to shew him he could do without him, ordered articles of agreement to be drawn up, which were called the interim ; the articles being to last only until a general council should meet in some town in Germany. These articles granted, that marriage should be no bar to priest's orders, and that the communion should be given, in both kinds, to those who desired it. In England, the parliament passed an act, allowing priests to marry ; and another, confirming the new liturgy which had been composed ; which, except a few alterations, is the same used at this day.

In 1549, an insurrection took place, for which the increased price of corn, and other causes, were assigned ; but the demands of the rebels shewed, that religion was the chief cause, and the rebellion was fomented by the priests and monks. These demands consisted of fifteen articles, of which I shall give the first ten :—

1st...That all the general councils, and the ancient canons of the church, should be observed.

2d...That the act of the six articles should be again in force.

3d...That the mass should be in Latin, and that the priests alone should receive.

4th..That the sacrament should be lifted up and worshipped, and those who refused to do it, should suffer as heretics.

5th..That the sacrament should only be given to the people at Easter, in one kind.

6th..That baptism should be administered at any hour, and at all times.

7th..That holy bread, holy water, and palms, be again used, and images set up, with all the other ancient ceremonies.

8th..That the new liturgy should be laid aside, and the old offices, as well as the processions, restored.

9th..That all preachers before their sermons, and priests in the mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory.

10th..That the people should be forbidden to read the bible.

After some defeats of the rebels, the rebellion was quelled, and a pardon granted, except to some of the ringleaders, who, endeavouring to make new stirs, were taken, and hanged at York.

In 1550, all prayers to saints were ordered to be erased, and all images taken out of churches to be destroyed.

In 1551, a confession of faith gave the final blow to the Romish tenets. This year, the council, removed back to Trent, was opened again.

In 1552, the marriage of the clergy was declared good and lawful, by an act of parliament; which had been considered only by the people as barely tolerated.

In 1553, Edward died; universally lamented by all but the popish party; to the success of whose wiles his death opened a prospect. To the reformed, it opened but the melancholy prospect of persecution and death, in the succession of Mary, his half sister: which was afterwards realized in characters of blood.

This cruel and unrelenting bigot determined on forcing the kingdom to return to the "unity of the catholic church," as she termed it.

Her first step was to restore the bishops deposed in Edward's time. Her next, to imprison Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, bishops Latimer, Hooper, and Coverdale; and Bradford and Rogers, protestant ministers, who had influence with the people. An immense number of protestants, seeing the storm which was gathering, had the wisdom and good fortune to withdraw, previously to greater violences and parliamentary enactments, from England, disguised as Frenchmen, into other countries. Mary, having heard this, prevented, by an order to all the ports, others from following their example; by which means, many whose movements were not sufficiently quick, were unfortunately too late, and were arrested on their passage.

The next step was to abrogate the laws in favour of the reformation. This would not have been possible, if the elections had been left free; as the protestants were infinitely more numerous than the Romanists. To remedy this, artifices, frauds, and violence, were practised.—Popish magistrates had been placed in all the cities and counties; and menaces, and even actions and imprisonments, on the most frivolous pretences, resorted to, to discourage those who were suspected of leaning to the protestant cause. In several places, protestants were violently prevented from assisting at elections. Where they were too numerous to allow this, false returns were made by the popish sheriffs who had been appointed, not only of those who had but an inconsiderable number of votes, but even in some instances of those who had none at all.

With a house of commons, thus constituted, of men to whom appeals were useless, as they were all, with one accord, on the popish side: and with a house of lords remarkable for tergiversation; having been, in Edward's reign, almost all protestants, and, in Mary's, Romanists; the queen could not fail in carrying her measures. The first day of the sitting of parliament, two bishops, Taylor of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford, were driven from the house of lords, for refusing to kneel at the celebration of the mass. Soon after, the house of lords sent down to

the commons the plan of an act, to make void the laws of Edward concerning religion; which the commons sent back with their approbation. Transubstantiation, crosses, the mass, crucifixes, and images, were restored; and an act was passed, making it felony of death for persons to the number of twelve, or more, to assemble with design to change the religion then established. Gardiner, who was appointed lord-chancellor, denied all justice in the court of chancery to those who would not blindly engage to second the queen's intentions.

In 1554, Queen Mary was married to Philip of Spain. Against this marriage, complaints and murmurs were almost general. The protestants feared they would see a Spanish inquisition erected in England. But the protestants were not the only murmurers. Independently of religion, the greatest part of the nation was not free from fears of King Philip's entering upon measures to introduce the Spanish tyranny into England. These murmurs ended in a conspiracy; which was suppressed; and the duke of Norfolk, Lady Jane Grey, her husband, and sixty conspirators, were executed; among whom was Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Romanist, and a great many more of that persuasion. This year, some bishops and priests were degraded for being married, and others for having preached erroneous doctrines: and the two houses petitioned the king and queen to intercede with the legate, Cardinal Pole, who had arrived in the kingdom, for "a reconciliation with the church, from which a horrible schism had disunited it." Cardinal Pole enjoined, "for penance, the repeal of all the laws passed against the pope's authority." Upon which an act was passed, "to restore the pope's authority to the footing it had been on before the twenty-ninth year of Henry the eighth's reign:" and the legate gave solemn absolution, which having been received by both houses on their knees, he took off the papal censures. There were, however, some restrictions to this authority, in the act, unnecessary to be particularized here, which the legate thought prudent to ratify; but he denounced the judgments of God against all those who possessed the goods of the church: one of the articles,

and which he considered the most important, having sanctioned such retention. Before the reconciliation was concluded, Julius the third published a bull, by which he excommunicated all who possessed goods of the church, or monasteries: upon which the queen restored what were in her possession, "to be employed to such uses as the pope should judge proper."

Another bull came to the queen from Paul the fourth, who had succeeded Julius the third, erecting Ireland into a kingdom, "by virtue of his power to create new kingdoms and abrogate old ones:" holding Henry the eighth's creation of it from a lordship to a kingdom null and invalid. An act was passed to renew the statutes of Richard the second, Henry the fourth, and Henry the fifth, against heretics.

The protestants, with consternation, saw the impending storm, without being able to avoid it, although much greater in numbers, for the following reasons: a great many concealed their sentiments for fear of losing their lives and fortunes; others from a conscientious principle, preferred suffering to resistance: and those who were inclined to repel force by force, would have been overmatched by Spain and the emperor joining the popish party, supported by the weight of the English government, and aided by all temporisers, or people who, possessing no real principles of religion at all, are always ready to join the most powerful side; and whose chief consideration is fortune, no matter how acquired.

The laws against protestants were now, under the diabolical superintendance of Gardiner, Bonner, and others of the popish clergy, put in rigorous execution. The detail of the infernal cruelties which were inflicted, however strictly relevant to my subject, would be too long for the intended limits of this treatise; and would be, to many of my readers, too disgusting. I shall therefore hasten through the subject; referring the more inquisitive reader to Rapin, Hume, Burnet, &c.; who have recited the particulars of these horrid atrocities; and confine myself to stating, that the following pious and learned protestant bishops and divines were martyred, by tying them to

stakes, and burning them alive with fire and faggot! The celebrated and learned Cranmer—the able and zealous Ridley—the pious and venerable Latimer, at the age of eighty—Hooper and Ferrar, bishops—Rogers, Bradford, Saunders, Taylor, Philpot, Cardmaker, and others, to the number of twenty-one clergymen. A great number also of the laity, including women, and even some children, were burned!

In the account of the entire number burned in this reign, historians differ. Those who mention the smallest, compute it at two hundred and seventy-seven; viz. five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children. Those who relate the largest number, say eight hundred in the years 1555 and 1556 alone. Numbers died in prison; and some were prevailed on to abjure by whips and tortures. The queen, by a proclamation, ordered immediate death to those who received heretical books, and did not, without reading or shewing them to any person, deliver them to the magistrates.

The justices of peace, tired with incessant scenes of cruelty and destruction, beginning to grow remiss; an order came from the court to excite them, and to enjoin them to place spies upon every parish, to watch those who were remiss in religious duties. This, so resembling an inquisition, caused such murmurings as terrified even the bloody Bonner himself into forbearance; which caused the king and queen to send him a severe letter, testifying surprise, and exhorting him to proceed without relaxation.

The providence and mercy of God, however, delivered the nation from this scourge, by cutting short the days of her antichristian career, after having reigned, or rather tyrannized, something over five years.

In the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, 1558, acts were passed, restoring the public worship in English; restoring the queen's supremacy; renewing and confirming all acts relating to religion, made in the reign of Edward; restoring the queen's right of nominating to bishoprics;

confirming statutes made in Henry's reign against the bishop of Rome; providing that the oath of supremacy should be taken by all persons in public offices; awarding punishments to those, who, by word or writing, gave countenance to the introducing any foreign power into the kingdom; establishing uniformity in divine worship; suppressing monasteries founded by Mary; &c. The reformation having been established, all beneficed clergy who would not conform, were obliged to quit their preferments, which were filled with protestants: and protestant magistrates were every where appointed.

In 1560, Pius the fourth, by letter, invited the queen back to the pale of the church, promising the continuation of the council of Trent as soon as possible, and other advantages: but he found his overture unsuccessful. As popish perseverance, however, has never been found easily inclined to give way, he sent, next year, a nuncio, whose admittance into England, Elizabeth would not allow.

By statute fifth of Elizabeth, to refuse the oath of supremacy, will incur the pains of premunire; and to defend the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction in this realm, is a premunire for the first offence, and high treason for the second.

In 1565, there was a conference at Bayonne between the courts of France and Spain, in which it was resolved to use their utmost endeavours to extirpate heretics.

In 1569, a conspiracy broke out in England, and was defeated; the declared intent of which was, "to restore the religion of their forefathers, remove evil counsellors, and cause justice to be done to the duke of Norfolk, and other lords in prison, or under disgrace." The rebels wrote circular letters to the Romanists, inviting them to come and join them; burned all the English bibles and prayer books at Durham, and openly celebrated mass. The real intent of the rebels was to set Mary, queen of Scots, on the throne. It would be too tedious to enter here into the mutual intrigues of Mary herself, and the different persons bigotted to the popish tenets, to effect this. I shall confine myself merely to the following

mention of their names: referring my readers for ample particulars and proofs to Rapin's history of England: the successive bishops of Rome in her time; Henry the second, and Charles the ninth, kings of France; Philip the second, king of Spain; the duke of Alva; Catherine De Medicis; the duke of Guise; and the English, Scotch, and Irish Romanists, particularly the Jesuits. The bishop of Rome issued a bull in 1569, excommunicating Elizabeth, and absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. This he caused, in 1570, to be fixed up in different parts of London, at night, by a man named Fitton, who was taken, convicted, and hanged near one of the places where the copies had been posted. The bull begins thus: "He that reigneth on high, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth, hath committed the one holy catholic and apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, successor of St. Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power. This one he hath constituted prince over all nations, and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, overturn, plant, and build."

In 1571, the parliament, greatly attached to Elizabeth, and aware of all the practices against her, passed an act, providing that if any man should attempt the personal hurt of the queen, or the depriving her of any part of her sovereignty, raise war, or stir up others to war against her; if any one should dare to give out that another person has a juster title than she to the crown; or should say she is a heretic, schismatic, or infidel; or should usurp her right and title during her life; or should affirm the parliament has not power to settle and limit the succession to the crown; every such person should be guilty of high treason. Punishments of treason were also enacted against those bringing in bulls, mandates, &c.; and of premunire against those bringing in Agnus Dei's, grains, crosses, beads, or other superstitious things consecrated by the bishop of Rome.

On the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, in 1572, was perpetrated the dreadful massacre of protestants in Paris,

which has taken its name from that day. The heads of the protestants being invited to Paris, at the celebration of the nuptials of the king of Navarre with Margaret, sister to Charles the ninth of France, were barbarously murdered; viz: five hundred persons of rank, including the celebrated Admiral Coligni; beside those of inferior note. In Paris alone, ten thousand, five hundred, of every age, sex, and condition, were murdered; and in Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Angiers, Thoulouse, Rouen, and Lyons, whither orders had been sent, a similar carnage took place. Some writers mention that seventy thousand, in all, but it is generally agreed that thirty thousand, at least, perished. On the 28th of August, the king of France went to his parliament, avowed the act, and was complimented upon it.

After this massacre, Charles the ninth, afraid that Elizabeth would aid the Huguenots with her forces, practised the utmost dissimulation to divert her from it. When she told him by her ambassador, that after the deed he had just committed, she could no longer place any confidence in him; he equivocated. At one time he said it was done without his knowledge; at another, that he was forced to it. And at the very time that he appeared to have the greatest desire to live in good understanding with Elizabeth, he took private measures to raise her disturbances both in England and Scotland. The bishop of Rome, too, did his utmost to raise a rebellion in England. When he heard of the massacre in France, he expressed great joy; announced that the cardinals should return thanks to the Almighty for so signal an advantage obtained for the holy see, and that a jubile should be observed all over christendom. Nor was the king of Spain, who had professed friendship for Elizabeth, nor any other of the popish bigots, idle. The bishop of Rome and Philip of Spain, also, joined in the pious endeavour to raise a rebellion in Ireland.

In 1579, the Romish priests endeavoured to assist "the cause." From foreign seminaries, whither they had gone for education, they had flocked into England, under colour of administering the sacraments to Romanists.

As long as the court imagined they confined themselves to this, no notice was taken. But it was discovered at length that they were more industrious. They maintained, "that the pope had, by divine right, full power to dethrone kings, and that Elizabeth being excommunicated and deposed by Pius the fifth's bull, her subjects were freed from their allegiance." For publicly maintaining this, four of them were convicted and executed. Two Jesuits, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campian, not only had been employed also to preach this doctrine, but had got a bull, declaring "that Pope Pius's bull bound Elizabeth and the heretics always; but in no way the catholics, till a favourable opportunity should offer to put it in execution." On this a proclamation was issued, commanding all who had children, wards, or kinsmen, beyond sea, to give in their names within ten days, and call them home within a month: and forbidding all persons to entertain or harbour any Jesuits or priests sent forth from the seminaries of Rome or Rheims, upon pain of being punished as rebels and seditious persons. Soon after, printed books were dispersed, intimating "that the pope and the king of Spain had formed a design to conquer England, and restore the catholic religion;" and exhorting the English Romanists to help forward the design: on which the queen issued another proclamation, declaring, "that she was not ignorant of the practices of her enemies, but by the grace of God, and help of her faithful subjects, she was able to withstand their attacks both at home and abroad. That, as the plots which were contriving, were not only against her person, but also against the whole kingdom, she did not intend to be cruel to the good, by sparing the bad; and, therefore, such as would not, for the future, keep within the bounds of their duty, were to expect no mercy."

In the year 1580, the bishop of Rome, and the king of Spain, put in execution their plan of invading Ireland, in which they met total discomfiture.

Edmund Campian, and three other ecclesiastics, were executed in 1581, for having endeavoured to raise com-

motions, and for having maintained that the queen was lawfully deposed. These justifiable severities would never have happened, if these infatuated incendiaries had been contented with the free exercise of their religion in private, nor had attacked the government; and it must be admitted by every candid person, that such were even called for by their own declaration, that "they were come into England to absolve every one in particular from his oath of allegiance, from which Pius the fifth's bull had absolved the nation in general."

The parliament passed severe laws in consequence of these practices, declaring all "who shall endeavour to dissuade the subjects from their allegiance to the queen, and from the religion established in the kingdom, or shall reconcile them to the church of Rome, as also those who shall be so reconciled, guilty of high treason."

"Those also are fined in two hundred marks, and imprisonment for a year, who shall say mass; and they who shall be knowingly present at mass, are fined in one hundred marks, with imprisonment also for a year. Moreover, they who had absented themselves from their parish churches on the days appointed for divine service, were fined in 20l. a month."

The laws against Romanists were not before so severe, and these were forced by their own practices. Seventy priests, however, who were under sentence of death, had their sentences mitigated to transportation; among whom were several Jesuits. Some time after, the Spanish ambassador was discovered to be engaged in a plot, and was ordered to quit the kingdom.

In 1584, another plot was discovered. Crichton, a Scotch Jesuit, going by sea to Scotland, and the vessel he was on board being attacked by pirates, tore some papers he had about him, and threw them into the sea. It happened that the wind hindered the torn papers from falling into the water, and blew them back into the ship, where somebody took the pains to gather them all up. These papers being put together, a plot was discovered, framed by the bishop of Rome, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise, for invading England: on which, a

general association of men of all degrees was formed in England, who bound themselves by oath, to prosecute to death, those that should attempt any thing against the queen.

In 1585, another conspiracy was discovered. William Parry, member of the house of commons, had signalized his zeal for the Romish religion, by opposing singly a bill preferred in the commons against the Jesuits. He spoke with so much vehemence, that he was committed to prison, but released on his submission, and admitted to his place again. But it soon came out that he had a design to kill the queen, and held intelligence with Jesuits, popish nuncios, and cardinals. He was condemned and executed. This conspiracy made the parliament unanimously admit, approve, and confirm the general association. It was enacted also, that twenty-four, or more, commissioners, appointed by the queen, should make inquisition concerning those who should endeavour to raise a rebellion in the kingdom, or attempt the queen's life; appointing for such attempts the punishment of death. Another act was passed, "that all popish priests should depart the realm within forty days; that all who should afterwards return, should be guilty of high treason; and that to receive or harbour them, should be felony."

Again, in 1586, a fresh plot was discovered. Gilbert Giffard, doctor of divinity in the seminary at Rheims, and Robert Giffard, and —— Hodgeson, English priests, had instilled into one John Savage, an Englishman also, that it would be a meritorious act to kill Elizabeth, which they had made him vow to do during the Easter holidays. At the same time, Ballard, an English priest of the same seminary, who had been in England notwithstanding the prohibition, returned into France, where he had several conferences with Mendoza and the Lord Paget, how to invade England. The intent of the whole conspiracy, was to restore the Romish religion in England, to kill Elizabeth, and set Mary, queen of Scots, on the throne. Ballard was sent back to England, to confer with a person zealous in the cause, namely, Anthony Babington; who,

having been lately in France, was gained there by the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador, and by Morgan, an English fugitive. This Babington had been recommended to Mary for his zeal; and on his return to England, she corresponded, and frequently communicated, with him. Ballard told Babington the design of invasion, and of setting Mary on the throne; and also Savage's vow. Babington objected to the hazard of committing the execution of the design to one person, and suggested six, offering himself as one. The six were appointed, viz.: Savage, Babington, Charnock, Abington, Maxwell, and Barnwell. Mary sent a letter in cypher to Babington, blaming him for his silence, and desiring him to send her the packet of letters come from Morgan, and delivered by the French ambassador's secretary. Babington, in his answer to her, imparted the plot laid with Ballard. In a second letter, she commended his zeal for the catholic religion, but advised him to attempt nothing until he was sure of foreign assistance; and charged him to promise, in her name, a good reward to the six persons. This conspiracy was detected by the vigilance of Walsingham, one of the queen's secretaries. The fate of Mary is well known; and I shall only detain the reader by remarking, that fourteen of the other conspirators were hanged. Previous to the execution of the sentence on Mary, the French ambassador bribed two assassins to murder Elizabeth.

Mary had not been long dead, when Philip of Spain proposed to invade England. He was countenanced by Sixtus the fifth, then bishop of Rome, on the ground of his being "the next catholic prince descended from the house of Lancaster;" as, according to the church of Rome, "a heretic is unworthy and incapable of enjoying a crown." A bull was immediately thundered out against Elizabeth, absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. The dispersion, by a storm, of "the invincible armada," as it was termed, closed Philip's hopes at this period.

In 1589, Henry the third, of France, who had deserted the popish league, was assassinated by James Clement, a

Dominican friar; who had undertaken the meritorious work at the suggestion, and with the approbation, of Bourgoing, the prior of his convocation. This was a league which had been formed by the popish powers, against the protestants, and protestant religion, for the purpose of total extirpation.

In 1593, the English fugitives sent one Hesquet, to persuade the earl of Derby to take the title of king, as grandson to Mary, daughter of Henry the seventh. Hesquet told the earl, that he might rely on the assistance of Philip the second; but in case of his refusal, or not being secret, he should not live long. The earl informed against Hesquet, who was taken, and hanged. In four months after, the earl died by a strange poison, which made him vomit to death.

In 1594, Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, the queen's physician, was hanged, for engaging with the council of Spain to poison Elizabeth for 50,000 crowns. Two Portuguese accomplices were hanged with him; and Patrick Cullen, an Irish fencing-master, who had been sent from the low countries on the same design, Edmond York, and Richard Williams, underwent the same fate.

In 1596, the king of Spain made another vigorous effort to conquer England. Collecting every ship he could muster, he formed a formidable fleet, which Divine Providence again dispersed by a violent tempest, in which a great part of it was lost.

In 1598, one Edmond Squire was apprehended in London, for having undertaken to poison the pummel of the queen's saddle.

I think it necessary to notice a quarrel which happened between the Jesuits and the secular priests, in England, in 1602, not only from its applicability to the general tenor of my subject, but also as the portentous event of the restoration of the order of Jesuits, by the present bishop of Rome, has taken place. The secular priests accused the Jesuits "of being the sole cause of the severe laws enacted against the catholics, because they had been concerned in all the conspiracies, and even suborned assassins to murder the queen." While their

quarrel was at its greatest height, the queen had intelligence, that the Jesuits, and such of the secular priests as had espoused their principles and party, were hatching something against the government. On which, she banished them by proclamation, forbidding them to set foot in England again, on pain of death. The other secular priests, who sided not with the Jesuits, were also liable to the same penalty, unless they would take the oath of allegiance.

In 1603, the first year of James the first's reign, the king issued a proclamation, commanding all Jesuits and other priests, having orders from any foreign power, to quit the kingdom. It was so worded, as to shew that he did not banish the Jesuits out of hatred to the Romish religion, but only on account of their attachment to the doctrine of the bishop of Rome's unlimited power over crowned heads.

In 1605, was discovered the most infernal conspiracy ever invented. This was the popish plot, called the gunpowder treason; by which, every matter was previously settled, and thirty-six barrels of gunpowder placed in a cellar under the parliament house; from whence, by setting fire to a train, the conspirators designed to have blown up king, lords, and commons, on the 5th of November, the day fixed for the meeting of parliament, which had been prorogued. The principal names which history hands down as having been concerned in this black contrivance, are, Henry Garnet, provincial of the English Jesuits, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerard, and —— Oldcorn, Jesuits; Guy Fawkes, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, Everard Digby, Thomas Winter, Stephen Littleton, —— Bates, Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rockwood, Christopher Wright, and Thomas Thresham. The design was to restore the Romish religion, and the bishop of Rome's authority. The mercy and providence of God, however, drew up from the very bottom of hell, and exposed to the horror and amazement of the civilized world, this work of darkness, by the instrumentality of one of themselves, when at the eve of completion. Of these antichristian and traitorous

wretches, some were killed resisting the attempt to take them, among whom were Catesby and Percy; the remainder were convicted and hanged. The parliament, on meeting, drew up the oath of allegiance, which all subjects, without exception, were obliged to take. Soon after, Urban the eighth drew up a *brief*, giving those who should take the oath, to understand, that they forfeited all hopes of salvation.

In 1610, Henry the fourth of France, was murdered by Ravaillac. An attempt had been made to assassinate Henry, soon after his accession, by Chatel, a furious bigot, who had been instigated by the Jesuits. This attempt Henry escaped, and the whole order of Jesuits was declared by the parliament of Paris, "corrupters of the youth, disturbers of the peace, and enemies of the king and state," and banished the kingdom. Henry had issued the edict of Nantz, granting toleration to the protestants; which, however celebrated by enlightened men, was insupportable, in its effects, to the Romish party. He was, therefore, assassinated by Francis Ravaillac; who owned that he was impelled to the fact by the sermons and books of the Jesuits. After he was seized, all who pleased were permitted to speak to him. A Jesuit addressed him in these remarkable words:—"Friend, take care, whatever you do, that you don't charge honest people." At his examination, he boldly confessed "he did it because the king did not take arms against the Huguenots, and that his making war against the pope, is the same as to make war against God, seeing the pope was God, and God was the pope." This murder, which afforded so plain and practical a proof of the danger to sovereigns of that doctrine so often inculcated by the church of Rome, induced James to issue a fresh proclamation, commanding all Jesuits and priests out of the kingdom, and all Romanists not to come within ten miles of the court. Then he caused all his subjects to take the oath of allegiance; the parliament, which was still sitting, having led the way.

In 1614, the house of commons inquired into the causes of the increase of popish recusants, notwith-

standing the laws enacted since the gunpowder plot. One cause appeared to be, the king's negociations abroad for the marriages of the late Prince Henry and Prince Charles, with popish princesses. Another, his admitting into his council popish lords. One of them, the earl of Northampton, who had been appointed warden of the cinque ports, managed so, that the Jesuits and priests might safely land there, without being examined at their arrival. Their number so increased, consequently, as to occasion loud murmuring among the people, and a strong reproach to the earl of Northampton from the king; who had himself been the chief promoter of this disobedience to his own proclamations, and the laws, by appointing a popish lord to that particular office.

In 1621, the commons presented a remonstrance to the king, representing the vigilance and ambition of the bishop of Rome and the king of Spain; the devilish positions and doctrines whereon popery is built, and taught with authority to its followers, for advancement of their temporal ends; the distressed and miserable estate of the professors of true religion in foreign parts; the confederacy of the princes of the popish religion, for the subversion of the protestant; the armies raised and maintained by the chief of that league; the expectation of the popish recusants of the match with Spain; the more than usual concourse of popish recusants to the city, and their frequent conferences there; the licentious printing and dispersing of seditious books, even in the time of parliament; the swarms of priests and Jesuits; and many other matters. From these premises, they deduced, that the popish religion is incompatible with the protestant; that it hath a restless spirit, and will strive by these gradations; if it once get but a connivance, it will press for a toleration; if that should be obtained, it must have an equality; from thence it will aspire to superiority, and will never rest until it subvert the true religion. They propose the following remedies: war, avowedly to aid the protestants in foreign parts, which would re-unite the princes of the protestant union: to prosecute such war by a diversion, or otherwise, and

not rest upon defensive measures only: to direct the bent of the war against the chief of the league, who had maintained the war in the Palatinate: to prevent the dangers from popish recusants, by putting in execution the laws against them: that Prince Charles should be married to a protestant: and some others too tedious to mention here.

James returned a very long, severe, and arbitrary answer, in writing; in which his notions of prerogative were found to run higher than he had thought proper to develop ever before. In short, his aim seemed clearly to be absolute authority. In the conclusion of his long epistle, he says, "We cannot allow of the style, your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance; but could rather have wished that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us."

These views, so contrary to the real nature of the British constitution, which at no time lodged an absolute power in the person of the king; nor any where else except in the three estates of king, lords, and commons united together; drew from the commons the following protestation: "The commons now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of parliament, among others here mentioned, do make this protestation following. That the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding of these businesses, every member of the house of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty to treat of these matters, in such order, as in

their judgments shall seem fittest; and that every member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachments, imprisonments, and molestation, (other than by censure of the house itself,) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament, or parliament business: and that if any of the said members be complained of, and questioned for any thing done in parliament, the same is to be shewn to the king, by the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information."

The king, being informed of this protestation, went in person to the house of commons, and took it out of the journal-book; and, some days after, dissolved the parliament, and imprisoned some of the members, among whom was the celebrated Sir Edward Coke.

While the treaty was going on for the match with the infanta of Spain, the king, to forward it, and obtain the dispensation from Rome, which was necessary at the Spanish side, signed four secret articles, beside the public articles; the substance of which was, to pledge himself and the parliament to the abrogation of all laws against Romanists; and also all laws repugnant to the Romish religion. But a fresh difficulty occurred in Spain. Some of the Spaniards, who knew the nature of the English constitution, maintained it was not in the king's power to perform what he promised; or, in case he attempted it, a rebellion would infallibly ensue. The king of Spain appointed a committee to take this into consideration. It was decided to defer sending the infanta into England, and the Spanish ambassadors in England had orders to desire James to begin putting in execution his engagements in favour of the Romanists.

James, thus placed in a dilemma, resolved to give the ambassadors some satisfaction: and he put into their hands a declaration, promising "pardon under the great seal, of all penalties, forfeitures, seizures, indictments, convictions and incumbrances whatsoever, whereunto the Roman-catholics are liable, or have been proceeded against, or might be, as well priests, as others; suspension,

under his majesty's seal, of all these penal laws, charges, and forfeitures, whereunto Roman-catholic subjects of his majesty have heretofore been subject; and, under the same seal, to give a dispensation and toleration to all the Roman-catholics, his majesty's subjects, as well priests, as temporal persons, and others, of and from all penalties, forfeitures, troubles, and incumbrances, which they have been, or may be, subject to, by reason of any statute or law whatsoever."

But while these matters were in agitation in England, Gregory the fifteenth died; which, rendering the dispensation null until it should be renewed by his successor, protracted the intended marriage, and it was ultimately broken off. Happy would it have been for Charles, as well as for the English people, if a similar marriage treaty, which, on the breaking off of this, was entered into with France, had been also broken off. Charles would have reigned securely and happily, in coinciding with the genius, the interests, and the wishes of the English people; and the land, with its inhabitants, would not have been oppressed with the commotions, nor the pages of history stained with the excesses, which thence occurred.

I now pass to Charles the first.

His marriage had been concluded with the king of France's sister, while James had been living; and his queen arrived in the beginning of his reign. In the first year, 1625, both houses presented to the king a petition against popish recusants, which being similar to the petition I have related in James's reign, it is unnecessary to dwell on. The king answered the petition graciously, and made fair promises; but the continual complaints of the parliaments, on the same points, throughout his reign, shew not the performance of these promises. To the intrigues of the queen and her counsellors, this is to be attributed.

In 1628, the commons presented a remonstrance to the king, representing "a general fear conceived in the people of secret working and combination to introduce into the kingdom, innovation, and change of religion: some of the Romish religion having had honours, offices, and places

of command and authority lately conferred on them; and letters of stay of legal proceedings, and commissions under the great seal, granted for compositions with popish recusants; with inhibitions and restraint both to the ecclesiastical and temporal courts and officers to intermeddle with them: the great increase of their numbers, insolence, meetings, and conferences: the miserable condition of Ireland, where, without control, the popish religion is openly professed, and practised in every part thereof; popish jurisdiction being there generally exercised and avowed, monasteries and nunneries erected, &c."

This remonstrance, which was very long, containing a great many other matters which come not within my subject, made little impression upon the king.

The commons, the same year, complained that new ceremonies were continually introduced, especially at Durham, by Doctor Cozens, the dean; as angels, saints, crucifixes, altars, candles on candlemas day, &c. This was equally unattended to by the king. The commons then entered into a vow, in favour of the thirty-nine articles of religion entered into in the reign of Elizabeth. Soon after, the commons entered into a protestation, composed of three heads. The first was, "Whosoever shall bring in innovations of religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism, or other opinion disagreeing from the truth, and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth." The other two were about tonnage and poundage. The king resorted to his usual remedy of dissolving the parliament. He also sent four members of the commons to the tower. Against these members, the attorney-general exhibited informations in the star-chamber; and they were severely fined and imprisoned. These violent proceedings caused general murmurings.

The next occurrence material to my purpose, was in the year 1640. Although this be but a speech of one of the members in the house of commons, Mr. Pym, yet it contained the sense of the entire commons, and all

the public grievances of which the people complained. In this speech he said—"There are a threefold sort of grievances. 1st...Against the privilege of parliament.—2d..To the prejudice of religion.—3d..Against the liberty of the subject. For the first, the members are free from arrests, and to have liberty of speech. These privileges have been broken: first, in restraining the members from speaking; secondly, in forbidding the speaker to put a question; both of them practised in the last parliament; thirdly, by imprisoning divers members for matters done in parliament; fourthly, by proceedings against them in the inferior courts; fifthly, enjoining them to give security for their good behaviour, and continuing them in prison even to the death; sixthly, in abrupt dissolutions of parliament. The second is, encouragement of popery: first, by suspension of laws against them. Now 'tis certain there can be no security from papists, but in their disability: their principles are incompatible with any other religion: laws will not restrain them, nor oaths; for the pope dispenseth with both; and his command acts them against the realm in spirituals and temporals in *ordine ad spiritualia*. Henry the third, and Henry the fourth, of France, were no protestants, yet were murdered because they tolerated reformation. Secondly, by allowing them places of trust and honour in the commonwealth. Thirdly, their free resort to London, and to the court; to communicate their counsels and designs, diving into the secrets of state. Fourthly, that as they have a congregation of cardinals at Rome for advancing the pope's authority in England; so they have a nuncio here for the execution thereof." The third sort of grievances against the liberty of the subject, he enumerates; as tonnage, poundage, ship-money, &c.

This speech, which was universally applauded, was followed with another, by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, in which he used the following expressions. "They have brought it so to pass, that under the name of puritans, all our religion is branded; and under a few hard words against Jesuits, all popery is countenanced. Whosoever squares his actions by any rule, either divine or human,

he is a puritan; he that will not do whatsoever other men would have him do, he is a puritan. Their great work, their master-piece, now, is to make all of our religion to be the suspected party of the kingdom."

The house was loaded with petitions backing these speeches. In consequence, the house appointed a committee of twenty-four, to prepare a remonstrance. But, the king, shewing a greater compliance than was expected, this remonstrance was not drawn up until above a year after, on another occasion. This year, however, the commons ordered the preparing a remonstrance to his majesty concerning Count Rosetti, who exercised in England the functions of nuncio, under colour that it was necessary for the queen, for matters of conscience. The queen, by a message, informed them "that understanding the having one sent to her from the pope was distasteful to the kingdom, she was desirous to give the parliament satisfaction, and would remove him in convenient time." The time, however, having been protracted, the commons ordered him to be brought to the bar of their house to be examined: on which he hid himself, and, next day, departed for Rome. Beside the influence which the popish party gained by the direct countenance of the queen, and the indirect countenance of the king, as far as he could elude the vigilance of parliament; Lord Conway, secretary of state, and Weston, earl of Portland, lord treasurer, were professed Romanists; and Windebank, secretary of state, and Finch, lord keeper, although they did not openly profess the Romish faith, were avowed patrons of the Romish party. Buckingham may be strictly said to have been of no religion at all.

On the 11th of February, 1641, notice was given to the commons, "that the papists were preparing to execute some great design, and that, by the queen's order, they all fasted every Saturday for its success." An order was therefore made, that all judges in their circuits should effectually put the laws in execution against priests and Jesuits.

On the 3d of May, Mr. Pym made known to the house "informations given of desperate designs both at home

and abroad against the parliament and the peace of the nation; and that the persons engaged therein were under an oath of secrecy. That the French were drawing down their forces to the sea side, and that divers persons of eminency about the queen were deeply engaged in these plots." upon which the commons resolved that a protestation should be subcribed by all the members. In this, each member promised, vowed and protested, to maintain and defend, as far as he lawfully may, with his power, life, and estate, the true reformed protestant religion, expressed in the doctrine of the church of England, against all popery and popish innovation within the realm. This protestation they communicated to the lords, desiring that every member of their house might be ordered to take the same. Having passed in the lords, it was signed altogether by four hundred and thirty three commoners, and one hundred and six lords, including the bishops and judges. The concourse of people which had flocked to Westminster on this occasion had been immense. The commons ordered Doctor Burgess to acquaint the multitude, that the protestation had been taken by both houses, and that they were desired to return to their homes. They forthwith departed, satisfied.

This protestation was not the only effect of the conspiracy. The same day, the commons ordered the bringing in of a bill for the continuance of the parliament, that it might not be dissolved without the consent of both houses. They ordered likewise the protestation to be tendered to the whole kingdom.

From this time forward, the disputes ran high between the king and his parliament. These I am not disposed to meddle with, if they even came more clearly within the scope of my design. It is an intricate subject; touching the king's prerogative on the one hand; and the privileges of parliament, and the liberty of the subject, on the other. For one only remark I feel myself here called on; namely, that popery and arbitrary power are strict and inseparable concomitants; coexisting; aiding and supporting each other. The pretensions of all orders of

the popish hierarchy, from its head to all its members, are, for themselves, rule; absolute, undisputed, rule; and for the people, implicit, blind submission, in *ordine ad spiritualia*. It therefore countenances absolute authority over their subjects in princes who are themselves obedient to the Roman see: and, again, princes, aiming at this, have always either sanctioned or connived at clerical oppression.

On the 1st of November, 1641, accounts arrived in England of a frightful tragedy acted in Ireland: which excited the horror, amazement, and indignation of the whole kingdom; namely, the Irish rebellion and massacre; in which thirty-seven thousand English protestants were most barbarously murdered, in cold blood, by the Irish; and more extensive mischief prevented barely in time, by the discovery, only the night before, of a project of seizing, the ensuing day, upon the castle of Dublin, and all the stores and provisions. This dreadful news caused immediate and strong resolves by the commons.

"Assistance to Ireland.—That the persons of papists of quality be secured.—That the lords be desired to join concerning the dissolution of the house of capuchins; of the queen's establishment; and the speedy sending them away, according to the desires of this house.—That the ambassadors may be sent to, from both houses, to deliver up such priests, of the king's subjects, as are in their houses.—That a list be brought in of the queen's priests, and other her servants.—That a proclamation be issued forth, commanding all strangers that are not of the protestant religion, to deliver in tickets of their names, and an account of their stay here, within two days after the issuing forth of the said proclamation, or else to depart the kingdom forthwith. &c."

The capuchins are friars of the Franciscan order, founded by Francis, son of a merchant of Assisi, in the province of Umbria, in 1209. The Franciscans, as well as the Dominicans and Jesuits, have been zealous and active friends to the papal hierarchy; and were invested, by the Roman see, with the treasure of ample and extensive indulgences, as a means of subsistence, by their

distribution. Of the Franciscans are conventual brethren, and brethren of the observance. From the latter sprung the capuchins; i. e. religious of the Franciscan order in its strictest observance; deriving their name from capuce, or capuchon, a stuff cap, or cowl, wherewith they cover their heads. They are clothed with brown or grey; always barefooted; are never to go in a coach, nor even shave their beard. The capuchins are a reform made from the order of Minors, commonly called cordeliers, set on foot in the sixteenth century, by Matthew Baschi, a religious observant of the monastery of Montesiascone; who, being at Rome, said he was advertised several times from heaven to practise the rules of St. Francis to the letter. Upon this, he made application to Clement, bishop of Rome, in 1525; who gave him permission to retire into a solitude, with as many others as chose to embrace the strict observance. In 1528, the bishop of Rome issued a bull in their favour. In 1529, the order was brought into complete form; Matthew was elected general; and the chapter made constitutions.

The house of commons next passed the remonstrance I before alluded to, and ordered it to be printed. Of this long document, composed of two hundred and four articles, I shall not give even the most brief abridgment, as any thing therein contained, really material to my subject, is comprised in what I have already stated in this treatise.

In the year 1643, among the reasons of the general assembly in Scotland, for assisting the parliament, the second is—"There was an act passed by the convention of estates, anno 1585, wherein the estates found it necessary to enter into a league and christian confederation, with all protestant princes and estates, against the bloody league at Trent. Conformed to which there followed a league between the two crowns of England and Scotland, subscribed at Berwick, 1586, against whatsoever foreign and intestine powers of papists should arrive or rise. And, therefore, the cause being the same, as well as the parties, and the danger; we are bound to perform now, what we promised then."

From this time until the reign of Charles the second, I find nothing applicable to my subject. In 1661, the house of commons ordered all their members to receive the sacrament in the church of England, on pain of being expelled. The same year, the corporation act was passed, by which every mayor, alderman, common-council man, or any other officer in a corporation, shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

In 1663, the two houses presented an address to the king, setting forth, "that his majesty's lenity towards the papists, had drawn into the kingdom great numbers of Romish priests and Jesuits: they were therefore humble suitors to him, to issue out a proclamation to command all Jesuits, and all English, Irish, and Scottish priests, and all such other priests as have taken orders from the see of Rome, or by authority thereof, (except such foreign Jesuits and priests as, by contract of marriage, are to attend the persons of either of the queens,* or, by the law of nations, to attend foreign ambassadors,) to depart this kingdom by a day, under pain of having the penalties of the law inflicted on them."

The king answered in writing, "that he was not a little troubled that his lenity and condescension towards many of the popish persuasion, had been made so ill a use of, and so ill deserved, that the resort of Jesuits and priests into his kingdom had been thereby increased; but that he would issue a proclamation, &c."

This proclamation was issued, but no better observed than all those that had been issued out for the same purpose, since the beginning of the reign of James the first. But it was not then known that the king was himself a Romanist.

In 1666, a dreadful fire broke out in London, which raged three days, and laid a great part of it in ashes. Bishop Burnet relates, on the authority of Doctor Lloyd, afterwards bishop of Worcester, that one Grant, a papist, one of the board of trustees of water works at Islington, the day before the fire broke out, called for the key of the

* The queen mother, and King Charles the second's queen, who was also a Romanist, of the Portuguese family.

place where the heads of the pipes were, turned all the cocks that were then open, stopped the water, went away, and carried the keys with him. When the fire broke out the next morning, they opened the pipes in the streets to find water, but there was none. Some hours were lost in sending to Islington, where the door was to be broke open, and the cocks turned; and it was long before the water got to London. This great fire was generally charged to the popish party. In one of the inscriptions round the monument, in London, are the following words; which, on King James the second's coming to the crown, were erased, but restored upon the revolution:—

"This pillar was set up in perpetual remembrance of the most dreadful burning of this protestant city, begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction, in the beginning of September, in the year of our Lord 1666, in order to the carrying on the horrid plot for extirpating the protestant religion, and old English liberty, and introducing popery and slavery."

The same year, the two houses, who were beginning to discover the king's real principles, notwithstanding his contrary professions; seeing that Romanists had a considerable influence in his council, and that their religion began to spread in the nation, presented an address, praying him to put the laws in execution against Romish priests and Jesuits, who took indefatigable pains to pervert his subjects. The king, as customary with himself, his father, and grandfather, issued a proclamation, which produced no farther effect than the former had done. A letter from Secretary Bennett, lately created earl of Arlington, a concealed papist, to the earl of Sandwich, ambassador at Madrid, contains the following sentence:—"Your excellency knows sufficiently the springs upon which the animosity to the Roman catholics arises, and how hard it is for his majesty to forbear declaring against them, when the complaint arises from both houses of parliament, and accordingly you can yourself frame your answer to the queen of Spain."

The next year, popish influence was more and more discovered; the king became more and more suspected;

and complaints and murmurs arose among the people. Another proclamation was issued; and the frequency of these rather increased than diminished the public jealousy, as the laws on which they were grounded, were not executed. These laws, the two houses, in 1668, addressed him to put in execution; and an ineffective proclamation was again the result; for none but Romanists, or men of no religion, had any credit at court.

In 1669, the king endeavoured, without success, by trying to procure an indulgence for all non-conformists, without exception, to procure for the Romanists, in the consequent inclusion, the same favour.

In 1670, the two houses addressed the king, representing the growth of popery, and stating the causes to be:—

1st...The number of priests and Jesuits.

2d...Their chapels, generally, beside those in ambassadors houses.

3d...The fraternities or convents of English popish priests and Jesuits at St. James's, &c.; and schools kept for the corrupt education of youth in the principles of popery.

4th...The publicity of popish catechisms.

5th...The remissness of magistrates, &c. in not convicting papists according to law.

6th...7th...8th and 9th...Recusants enjoying places, advowsance of churches, presentations to livings, &c. &c.

10th..The great insolence of papists in Ireland, where do publicly appear archbishops and bishops, reputed to be made so by the pope, in opposition to those made under his majesty's authority.

They then state the remedies to be:—

1st...The banishment of all popish priests and Jesuits, except such as attend the queen's person by the contract of marriage, and ambassadors, according to the law of nations; and execution of the laws against popish recusants.

2d...Restraining the concourse of subjects from hearing mass in ambassador's houses, and in all other chapels in the kingdom.

3d...Not to commit offices of trust to popish recusants.

4th...That all fraternities or convents of English or other popish priests, Jesuits, or friars, and schools inculcating principles of popery, be abolished, and such priests, Jesuits, friars, and schoolmasters, punished.

5th...That exchequer officers issue processes against popish recusants convict.

6th...That one Plunket, assuming to be primate of Ireland, and one Peter Talbot, assuming to be archbishop of Dublin, be apprehended and brought to England, to answer such matters as shall be objected against them.

The king, as usual, published a proclamation, which was no better observed than the former proclamations. But it is remarkable, that he owns, at this time, having employed Romanists, in consideration of the great services performed by them to his father and himself in the civil wars.

In 1671, the duke of York, the king's brother, afterwards James the second, publicly abjured the protestant religion.

In 1672, the king, and a secret council which he had appointed for the express purpose, combined to effect the accomplishment of their aim, viz.:—absolute authority in the person of the king. This council, consisting of five persons only—

C LIFFORD,
A RLINGTON,
B UCKINGHAM,
A SHLEY,
L AUDERDALE,

was called the cabal; and the initials of their names form the word CABAL. Sir Thomas Clifford was a zealous and declared Romanist. The earl of Arlington was a zealous Romanist, but made outward profession of the protestant religion. The duke of Buckingham gloried in having no religion, and was reckoned an atheist. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, was a

man of unsteady religious principles. The duke of Lauderdale had been, in his principles, much against popery and arbitrary government, but had suffered his passions and interests to overthrow his principles, and to make way for his assent to popery and arbitrary government, which have an entire and inseparable dependance the one upon the other. The duke of York, whose character was the very essence of bigotry and enthusiasm, had acquired the rule over all affairs, and over the king himself.

Of so formidable a cabal, as it was wittily and appropriately designated, against the rights and liberties of the English nation, the strides became as rapid as the objects were dangerous. The total extirpation of the protestant religion was therefore comprehended. The necessity and policy of this, in promoting despotic views, must be sufficiently obvious. The very genius of protestantism, or, in other words, of the holy scriptures, is liberty. "Where the spirit of the gospel is, there is liberty:"—2d Corinthians, 3 ch. 17 v. Not, indeed, a species of undefinable liberty; nor a liberty to do mischief, and deal out destruction to our fellow creatures; not a license, an indulgence, for wickedness and crime; but that species of liberty which accords at once with human reason, unperverted; with legitimate principles of government; and with unequivocal obedience to the divine laws. It is "the easy and light yoke," the "reasonable service," of Him "whose service is perfect freedom," and will be perfect happiness.

To effect the extirpation of this decided enemy to despotism and slavery, (protestantism,) some manœuvres were necessary. These were easily reconcileable with the king's latitudinarian principles. A Romish priest, (Father Orleans,) owns, in his history, that "the king was by no means a good christian in his actions, though a catholic in his heart." He entered into a secret alliance with France, and into a war with Holland, for the purposes of freeing himself, as he and the French king were pleased to term it, from the tyranny of parliaments—of rendering himself absolute in his dominions—and of

introducing popery, as soon as the states should be sufficiently humbled. He had an army also encamped on Blackheath, at the very gates of London, in the midst of winter, and Romanists in the principal military posts. These, by the counsel of his cabal, and his own determination, were to co-operate with the foreign force to effect these objects.

The inseparable connexion of popery and arbitrary power, the king made evident in his declaration published for liberty of conscience; since he could not grant this liberty without assuming a power to abrogate acts of parliament, or at least suspend the execution thereof as long as he pleased. This declaration, the 15th of March, 1672, consisted of divers articles, of which the first was:—"His majesty publishes it, in virtue of his supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is a right inherent in his person." And the fourth was:—"That the execution of all penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of non-conformists or recusants, be immediately suspended."

The members of the cabal were so sure of gaining their point, as to believe that the parliament itself would not dare seem to know their artifices. But they were mistaken. The house of commons determined to proceed with vigour in support of the constitution. The king's actions corresponding so little with his words, and religion and the state being so obviously in danger, they told the king, in an address, "that penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended, but by act of parliament." Soon after, the two houses addressed the king, complaining of the growth of popery, the great number of Romish priests and Jesuits, and the admission of so many recusants into places of trust, particularly in the army; and pointing out remedies, in many points similar to those in former addresses; but, in particular, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the sacrament in the church of England, to all officers and soldiers. This was followed, as usual, by a proclamation. But the commons, convinced by experience of the little reliance to be placed on the king's word, and being now resolved not to be

put off so easily, entered on new measures. They would not pass money bills until the declaration should be revoked.

The king, perceiving the dilemma to which the schemes of the cabal, and his own unconstitutional views, had reduced him; seeing that he must either give way to, or break with, his parliament, allowed to his prudence the victory over his inclinations. The protestant states of Holland had not been destroyed; nor France, therefore, yet ready to co-operate. Besides, the English army was protestant, except some few soldiers, and the popish officers whom he had introduced. The navy too was protestant. It would have been absurd, then, to have hoped, that they would have engaged in a design to destroy their own religious and civil liberties. In short, the king, contrary to the advice of the duke of York, and the greater part of the cabal, in this instance, saved a rupture, by recalling his declaration, and making a satisfactory speech to both houses. On which, the two houses went, in a body, to thank the king for so full and satisfactory an answer.

In 1673, the test act was passed, "to prevent the dangers which may happen from popish recusants," by requiring—"that all persons enjoying offices of trust or profit should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and make the declaration against transubstantiation, in public court, receive the sacrament in the church of England, and deliver into court a certificate signed by the ministers and church-wardens, attested by the oaths of two credible witnesses, and this certificate to be put upon record."

Immediately after the passing of this act, most of the popish officers threw up their employments. Clifford threw up the treasurer's staff, and the duke of York the post of lord high admiral.

The duke of York, who had issue, by his former marriage with the earl of Clarendon's daughter, Mary, and Anne, afterwards queens of England, married again in 1673, and selected a popish princess, sister to the duke of Modena.

In 1674, a general test was prepared by the commons, of which the following is a copy.

"I do solemnly, from my heart, and in the presence of Almighty God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do not believe in my conscience that the church of Rome is the only catholic and universal church of Christ, out of which there is no salvation; or that the pope hath any jurisdiction or supremacy over the catholic church in general, or over myself in particular; or that it belongs to the said church of Rome alone to judge the true sense and interpretation of the holy scriptures; or that in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there is made a perfect change of the whole substance of the wine into Christ's blood, which change the said church of Rome calleth transubstantiation; or, that the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, ought to be worshipped or prayed unto: and all these aforesaid doctrines and positions, I do renounce and disclaim, as false and erroneous, and contrary to God's word, and the christian religion."

But while they were preparing a bill to make this test general, which would have served as a touchstone to distinguish Romanists from protestants, the king prevented the measure by proroguing the parliament. It is true he had assented to a bill the year before, in which the oath was much to the same purpose: but that applied only to those advanced to offices of trust or profit.

In 1677, William, prince of Orange, afterwards King William the third, and the king's and the duke of York's nephew, was married to Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York.

In 1678, Doctor Ezrael Tongue, a London divine, Titus Oates, and one Kirkby, communicated to the king a design, which has gone by the name of the popish plot; the substance of which was, to kill the king, to subvert the constitution, and to extirpate the protestant religion, and establish popery. They next applied to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a justice of peace, before whom Oates swore informations. In three weeks after these informations had been lodged, they were examined by the privy council. In a few days afterwards, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was murdered. Very soon after, Oates was examined by the house of commons; after which the commons resolved,

nemine contradicente, "that there is, and hath been, a damnable and hellish plot contrived and carried on by popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the protestant religion."

Two days after, in a conference between the two houses upon this vote, the following report was made. "The lords have considered the vote of the house of commons communicated to them at the conference, and have most readily and unanimously concurred with them in it—*nemine contradicente*; and their lordships are very glad to see that zeal which the commons have shewn upon this occasion, and do fully concur with them, that the most speedy and serious considerations of both houses are necessary for prevention of the imminent dangers. In order whereunto, their lordships have resolved to sit *de die in diem*, forenoon and afternoon, and desire that the house of commons will do the same."

In the mean time, other witnesses, Bedloe and Dugdale, came forward; and Prance, to prove the murder of Godfrey. In 1678, and 1679, on the positive evidence of these men, Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, Langhorn, a Romish lawyer, Whitebread, Fenwick, Gawen, Turner, Ireland, Pickering, and Harcourt, Jesuits, and Grove, a layman; and, for the murder, Green, Berry, and Hill, were all convicted and executed. And in 1680, on the positive evidence of Oates, Dugdale, and a farther witness, Turberville, a friar, who had turned approver, Henry Howard, lord viscount Stafford, was convicted and executed. Four more lords were committed to the tower; the lords Powis, Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bellasis.

Of this plot, the reality of which has been by some historians admitted, and by others denied, I shall neither offer any opinion, nor enter into any of the particulars; which indeed are very tedious and complicated. This is in conformity with a determination into which I entered, on commencing this treatise: not to advance any thing of which any admissible doubts should be found to exist; and also not to suppress any thing which rested on suffi-

cient proof, on account of the cavils of writers, whose endeavours to thrust illusions on the understandings of their readers, to serve "the cause" of their party, are but too palpable. In short, I determined to adduce nothing which could be denied, except it would be intended to deny all accredited histories, and all authentic documents. I cannot, however, refrain from referring the reader to the fourteenth volume of Rapin's history of England, octavo, for the particulars and corroborating testimonials of the plot, particularly the two latter parts of it; the subversion of the government, and the extirpation of protestantism. I would direct his attention to the letters of Coleman, to which he owned, and in which the design is avowed, of "subduing the pestilent northern heresy." I would draw his observation to the fact, that Oates had accused Coleman before his letters were found; and that, therefore, Oates must have known Coleman. If he attentively read, and allow himself sufficient time to weigh in his mind, all that is offered by Rapin on the subject, and which takes up half the volume: if, beside this, he also read what Bishop Burnet relates in his history: and if he reject the whole, in all its parts, as false: I then may be taxed with a dulness of understanding; for I must own, it would puzzle me to discover by what process of reasoning he can arrive at the conclusion. I shall here drop the subject.

Soon after the examinations in the two houses on this matter, the parliament addressed the king, praying him to have the oaths of allegiance and supremacy every where administered; to have access at court denied to all unknown and suspected persons; and to order the train bands of London and Westminster to be in readiness: and a bill was passed "For disabling papists from sitting in either house of parliament."

In 1679, a design was discovered to burn London a second time. The house of one Bird, in Fetter-lane, being set on fire, his servant, Elizabeth Oxley, was suspected of having done it on purpose, and sent to prison. She confessed the fact, and deposed that she had been employed to do it by one Stubbs, a Romanist, who had

promised her five pounds. Stubbs, being taken up, confessed that he persuaded her to it, and that Father Gifford, his confessor, put him upon it, telling him,—"there was no sin in burning all the houses of heretics." He added, that he had frequent conferences in this affair with Gifford, and two Irishmen. And Stubbs and the servant maid declared, that the Romanists were to make an insurrection, and expected an army of sixty thousand men from France. The commons obtained a pardon for Stubbs and the servant maid, in consideration of their ready confession.

In consequence of this, the commons ordered a bill to be brought in to banish all papists, or reputed papists, within London and Westminster, twenty miles from the same, for six months; and then they voted, *nemine contradicente*, "That the duke of York being a papist, the hopes of his coming such to the crown, has given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the present conspiracies and designs of the papists against the king and the protestant religion."

They at last determined on a bill "to disable the duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of England," called, "the exclusion bill." After the particulars of the conspiracy against the established government, and the protestant religion, it was set forth: "That the emissaries, priests, and agents for the pope, had traitorously seduced James duke of York, presumptive heir to these crowns, to the communion of the church of Rome; and had induced him to enter into several negociations with the pope, his cardinals, and nuncios, for promoting the Romish church and interests, and by his means and procurement had advanced the power and greatness of the French king, to the manifest hazard of these kingdoms. That by descent of these crowns upon a papist, and by foreign alliance and assistance, they might be able to succeed in their wicked and villanous designs." It then enacts—"That James should be incapable of inheriting the said crowns, which, on the king's demise, should go to the person next in succession, as if James was dead." The bill was read the second time, and

committed: on which, the king, highly offended, prorogued the parliament.

In the latter end of 1679, a sham plot was discovered, contrived by Romanists, viz: the countess of Powis, one Cellier, a midwife; the earl of Castlemain, lords Powis, Arundel of Wardour, Petre and Bellasis, and Lord Stafford, who, as I have before noticed, was not tried and executed until 1680. The design was to trump up false witnesses to accuse Oates of perjury and sodomy; to have the earl of Shaftesbury assassinated; and to charge the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Essex, the duke of Monmouth, the lord Hallifax, and several considerable citizens of London, with being concerned in a plot against the king. One Dangerfield was to be the principal actor. He received his instructions from the countess of Powis, and the lords in the tower, and with them a list of the persons whom he was to accuse. And the countess of Powis had put into his hands a model of the pretended plot, which he was to convey into the house of some one of the sham conspirators, and there cause it to be found. Dangerfield, furnished with these instructions and papers, informed the duke of York of the matter, upon his arrival from Brussels. The duke of York made him a present of twenty guineas, and introduced him to the king, who, after he had heard him, gave him forty more. Afterwards he made some attempts to assassinate the earl of Shaftesbury, but was always prevented by one accident or other. At last, on pretence of viewing some rooms, which he said he designed to hire, he went to Colonel Mansel's lodgings, and found an opportunity to pin some dangerous papers behind his bed's head. This done, he went to inform two officers of the custom-house, that there were in these lodgings prohibited goods to the value of two thousand pounds. The officers, repairing thither the 22d of October, searched every where in hopes of finding their prey; but as they did not think of searching behind the bed, Dangerfield himself found the papers. The officers, having carried the papers to their superiors, had orders to return them to Mansel. Four or five days after, the colonel meeting Dangerfield

in the street, brought him before the king and council. He was strictly examined, and, his contrivance being detected, was sent to Newgate. Two days after, Sir William Waller, a magistrate, searching Cellier's house, found the model of the pretended plot, written very fair, and neatly made up into a book, tied with ribbons, and hid in a meal tub, which gave it the name of the meal tub plot. Dangerfield, finding himself undone if he persisted in a thing which he could not support, applied himself to the lord mayor of London, and gave him, in writing, a large confession taken upon oath, with a discovery of the persons who set him at work. This confession being sent to the council, several persons were taken up, and committed to the tower; among whom was the earl of Castlemain, and the countess of Powis. And the five lords already in the tower, on charges of being concerned in the popish plot, (one of whom, Lord Stafford, was executed for which afterwards,) were now among those charged with this subordinate plot: which aimed, by the assassination of the earl of Shaftesbury, (a man not suited to the prudent concealment of their purposes,) and by other stratagems, under colour of law, with regard to the rest, at the destruction of some of their opponents.

From the apparent shades of approximation between these two plots generally; and the certain identity as to time and names; the five lords in the tower having been concerned in both: I have thought it sufficiently pertinent to give the most particular account which I could find, that would at all consist with brevity, of this latter and subordinate one. I have therefore given it verbatim, from Rapin's history; to which I again earnestly refer my readers. They will find that his minute relation of the former plot, however tedious, will amply reward their pains; and, if the eliciting of truth be their object, this will, perhaps, better enable them to ascertain it, than the more flowery but delusive representations of other historians. I cannot withhold this tribute to the indefatigable industry, strict impartiality, and sensible strain of remark and elucidation, which is discernable in

this able work; from which I have received much instruction.

In 1680, the commons passed the exclusion bill before described: and presented a long address, or, rather, remonstrance, to the king: stating the bold and successful attempts of the popish party: that they had found means, if their opposers were judges, justices of peace, or other magistrates, to have them turned out of commission; so that, after some time, they became able to influence matters of government, and destroy those they could not corrupt: that money raised, had, by the prevalence of popish counsels, been employed to make war upon a protestant state, and augment the power of the French king: that the test act had no effect; for the papists, by dispensations obtained from Rome, submitted to these tests: that Coleman, the duke of York's secretary, had maintained a correspondence with Rome, by which was hatched the popish plot, which the papists began to smother by the murder of Godfrey: that popish officers were appointed to the command of forces, and above fifty new commissions were granted to known papists: that parliaments were prorogued and dissolved, to give time and advantage to that party: that witnesses had been corrupted, not only by promises of reward, but of favour from his majesty's brother: that divers of the most considerable of his majesty's protestant subjects had crimes of the highest nature forged against them, the charges to be supported by subornation and perjury, that they might be destroyed by forms of law and justice: that a periodical pamphlet, exposing popery, as ridiculous, called the "Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome," was suppressed by an arbitrary rule of court: and that, notwithstanding all the proclamations, the papists did, in great numbers, resort to the city and court.

In the lords, the exclusion bill was passed on the first reading, but was thrown out on the second.

This year, the commons, among other resolutions, passed one, "that a bill be brought in for an association of all his majesty's subjects, for the safety of his majesty's person, the defence of the protestant religion, and the

preservation of his majesty's protestant subjects against all invasions, and oppositions, and for preventing the duke of York or any other papist from succeeding to the crown."

The king, after various other votes and addresses, which highly displeased him, dissolved the parliament, after having sat but three months. At the same time, he summoned another to meet at Oxford, instead of Westminster: to which the very same members were not only generally and unanimously returned; but also addresses were sent them from the people of all the counties and cities, returning them hearty thanks for their conduct in the last parliament. The king, seeing this with vexation, and also the same kind of addresses, votes, and measures, to promote the exclusion of the duke of York, resolved to take a decisive method of defeating them, and again dissolved the new parliament, after having sat but seven days: and from this time forward, 1681, to his death, reigned without a parliament, and very arbitrarily.

In 1681, Oliver Plunket, the popish titular primate of Ireland, was executed in England, for a conspiracy carried on with the court of France, for an insurrection in Ireland. But although the course of justice was not, nor could not be, arrested in this and other instances, we find the king pulling off the mask which he had assumed to his parliament in the preceding part of his reign. His dissimulation gave way to violence; his affectation of a merciful disposition, to cruelty and blood; his assumed gentleness and chearfulness, to the most tyrannical persecution of the most enlightened and truly patriotic Englishmen, even unto death. Do these charges, these heavy charges, want proof? To whom was his mercy shewn?—nay, his favours, countenance, and rewards? To those who were plotting against the independence of England, and the laws, rights, liberties, religion, properties, and lives of Englishmen; because they were of his own religion, which he hypocritically cloaked from his parliament, partly through fear, and partly to serve his own ultimate views. To whom was his unrelenting cruelty shewn? To men, whose memories will be ever

justly dear to all who revere the true principles of law and justice, and the true rights and liberties of mankind. To men, whose honoured names, (the theme and admiration of foreign nations,) are interwoven with, and inseparable from, the fundamental principles of the glorious, and, let us humbly trust, invulnerable constitution, under which we have the happiness to live; and which, we have every reason to hope and believe, has been brought to pass by the particular providence of God.

On the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, much has been said for and against. I shall say but little. It is certain, whatever force may be allowed to the arguments in favour of these doctrines, none can be admitted for their abuse. However we may admit "subjection to the higher powers," on the part of the subject, yet on the part of the ruler it cannot be denied, that "there is no power but of God." Now the power derived from God, partakes not of oppression. "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil." In short, whatever way we contemplate the mockery of justice, in the trial, conviction, and execution of such men as Russel and Sydney, we can discern nothing but, on the one hand, the most hardened inattention to the divine laws, on the affinity with which, the validity of all human laws hangs and depends; and, on the other, the breach, with regard to the subject, both in these and other trials, of the laws, rights, liberties, religion, properties, and lives of the English people. Referring my readers to the English history for the particulars of these trials, which will be found to bear me out in what I have here advanced, I now pass to the reign of James the second.

James the second's inglorious career was permitted to endure but four years. He went publicly to mass two days after his accession. He next caused to be published, that Charles the second died, as he had lived, a Romanist: which Charles had taken no small pains to conceal: having been, as the event of James's losing his crown proved, a better politician than his brother. He ordered two papers to be published, which he had

found in Charles's strong box, written with his own hand, both tending to prove the necessity of a visible church and infallible guide in matters of faith. To confirm that Charles was really "a catholic," Mr. Wm. Chaffinch, keeper of the closet, made no scruple to shew a little chapel, annexed to the closet, where Charles went secretly to mass; who had so frequently and solemnly affirmed, in full parliament, that he was a good protestant.

On the illegal and cruel persecutions in this reign, it would be too tedious to dwell. I must therefore refer my readers to the pages of history for these; and content myself with relating the more general, prominent, and important transactions.

The king's design was of a twofold nature; the introduction of absolute government, and popery; strict and inseparable allies! His first step to this end, was to disarm the protestants in Ireland, and raise a popish army. When the parliament met, the 9th of October, 1685, he developed his real design, which, at his accession, he endeavoured to cloak, by promising, "to preserve the government in church and state, as by law established." He, in his speech, informed them that he had admitted officers into the army not qualified by the tests. The eyes of the nation began now to be opened to what he would be at. They saw, wild and absurd as the scheme was, that he, nevertheless, intended to attempt forcing the English protestant nation to embrace the Romish religion; and that, for this purpose, he had, with artful and arbitrary views, began with filling the army exclusively with his creatures, and organizing and extending it in its numbers: and this before he attempted to make general changes in the church and offices of the state. The whole house of commons, therefore, with the speaker at their head, attended the king, and presented an address, in which they stated, "that to that part of his majesty's speech, relating to the officers of the army not qualified for their employments, according to an act of parliament in the twenty-fifth of King Charles the second, entitled 'An act for preventing dangers

which may happen from popish recusants; they did, of their bounden duty, humbly represent unto his majesty, that these officers cannot, by law, be capable of their employments; and that the incapacities they bring upon themselves that way, can no way be taken off, but by an act of parliament." The king shewed, by his answer to this address, that he was offended; and this house of commons was sufficiently pliant to offer a bill to indemnify the popish officers from the penalties they had already incurred, and another to qualify such a number of these officers as the king should think fit. But did this satisfy James and his Jesuitical counsellors? No such thing. Popery could not be effectually introduced into a protestant state, without the aid of absolute power. The laws must be dispensed with; or, rather, there must be no laws which contradict the king's will. Vice versa, absolute power is most effectually introduced (all history informs us,) by the aid of popery. Indeed, the analogy between absolute power and popery is so close, that, in most instances, they may be said to be one and the same. In Christendom the identity is complete; for the very genius of the Romish religion is temporal and spiritual authority: arbitrary rule *in ordine ad spiritualia;* in short, absolute power.

To effect this ambitious, paramount, and monstrous object, which can only properly be said to be an attribute of the Deity, the necessity of unity has been, in all the past ages of the christian æra, inculcated, except in the very first; and, indeed, in the first too; but not the same kind of unity, nor for the same purposes. In the primitive church, the point and centre of unity was the word of God. As its ministers had been taught by the divine founder of their religion, that "his kingdom was not of this world," their "zeal was according to knowledge:" and the conformity that these faithful and obedient servants to a never failing master, taught, was conformity to His instructions, who alone is able to lighten our darkness, direct our paths, supply all our wants, make all rough places smooth, and finally conduct us to happiness transcendant and eternal. Of a very

different species was the unity, the necessity of which was presumptuously and impiously preached by the church of Rome, in succeeding ages : to wit, conformity with a system built on the decrees of bishops of Rome, and of councils, human councils ! directly contradictory to the doctrines of the sacred scriptures. All this, impious and even blasphemous as it was in a spiritual view, would, however, in a human view, as regarding the affairs of men in this lower world, have been rather ridiculous than hurtful, if it had been attended with no visible or temporal effects ; so strictly does even human reason, unperverted, accord with true religion, unalloyed with superstition and the " traditions of men." But, as the words of eternal life point out, that " the tree shall be known by its fruits ;" and, as the writings of all real divines, all true witnesses of the true faith, both in the primitive ages, and in the last, since the reformation, elucidate the real nature of faith, which if it operate not in good works, is not faith : so the histories, ecclesiastical and civil, of all European nations, which have either embraced " the power," or assumed " the form of godliness," afford us the instructive proof, that the tree which has been planted by the Romish church, has been known by its fruits. Of what description these fruits are, the reader will be easily capable of determining, by the historical sketch which I have briefly, but faithfully, given ; and of which I shall, with as brief and rapid steps as is possible, hasten to the conclusion. But, before I proceed, I would ask the reader, when his deductions shall have been made, as to the quality of the fruits, of what growth is the tree which has produced such fruits ? Is it the true vine ? Is it the tree of life, spreading nutrition and verdure all around ; dispensing blessings and peace ; with ever green, fragrant, flourishing, wide spreading branches, reaching to the highest heaven, " bringing forth fruit unto perfection ?" Or, is it " the barren fig tree," spreading pestilence, desolation, and death, which " shall be cut down, and cast into the fire ?" If the former, whence these fruits ? If the latter, what pestiferous church is this, which has planted this tree of

darkness and of evil, to intercept the human prospect granted by the revelation of our bountiful Creator, and, as far as in it lay, to blast the ultimate hopes of frail, fallen man? But, thanks be to the divine "Lord of the Vineyard," "the Sun of Righteousness, with healing in his wings," the "Messiah," full of grace and truth," "the incomprehensible" "Word," the "Eternal Son of God," who hath brought the true tree of "life and immortality to light through the gospel."

Again, infallibility is claimed by the Romish church. If, indeed, this church were really "the only road to eternal life;" to constitute which, it would be requisite that it should have neither added to, nor taken from, the doctrines contained in the Book of eternal life; why then, the necessity of union with a church so consonant to the scriptures, would be sufficiently apparent; and to dissent from it, would be (as in the existing case it is termed,) heresy. But if, on the other hand, it be found to differ from the scriptures, I would ask, where lies the infallibility? and where the heresy?

I would farther ask, is the reign of "the Prince of Peace," "the Saviour of the World," designated by the bloody "oriflamme" of slaughter and destruction? Is it in a presumptuous and arrogant mortal, or succession of mortals, called "popes," that we are to discover the "rock," when reason, as well as revelation, loudly proclaims, that "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ?" Is it in the bulls and decretals of popes, and the crude and contradictory decrees of councils, that we are to look for infallibility? or in the words of Him who is the eternal source of "the living waters" of instruction and of life, and who possesses the requisite attributes to constitute infallibility, omniscience, omnipotence, and perfection? Is the extirpation of heretics, (if heretics,) the way to reclaim, to teach them? Can that be the cause of truth, which requires the compendious arguments of fire and faggot? The mission of Him who is "the way, the truth, and the life," was "to save that which was lost." What "cause" then is this, which is promoted by persecution and torture?

What "church" is this, that audaciously claims to be "exalted" by the dark empire of desolation and death? If all judgment has been committed to the Son, by the Father, by what claim can weak and erring mortals usurp over their fellow mortals, the sole prerogative of omnipotence, and not only anticipate in this world, but (O matchless audacity!) presume even to dispense the judgments of the next? In fine, if this reign be not the reign of Christ, whose reign has it been? To these questions I shall leave the candid reader to furnish himself with the answers.

It has been urged, finding that the authenticity of history cannot be successfully disputed, that, at this enlightened æra, it is not likely that such scenes will again be acted, as I have described in this treatise. This I am ready to grant, as to the proposition itself, but not as to the conclusion sought to be drawn from it. The proposition, confined as it is within the verge of probability, is logical, because it is true. Such scenes are not likely to be renewed, because the power does not exist, at least in these countries, and under our happy and free constitution, of renewing them! But, as the experience of ages has proved the consequences which have flowed from the possession of this power in the hands of Romanists, it is strictly in point to conclude, that similar power would produce similar consequences.

Of this, the parliament of 1685, however moderate or compliant towards James the second, was fully aware. The king, dissatisfied that the commons were not willing to come up to the full extent of his desire, to dispense with the laws; that is, to invest him with absolute authority, prorogued the parliament, after a session of but eleven days. The king now proceeded by corrupting the judges, whom he caused to lay down as their opinion, that the king had a power to dispense with the laws. Four of them, who would not comply, he dismissed! He next attempted to gain the members of parliament, by degrees, one after another, being resolved to have no session until he had compassed his designs. Some of these, and various others, he found too ready to sacrifice

their duty, their consciences, and the religious and civil liberties of the nation, to the base considerations of their own paltry interest. Even among the clergy, he found some of this description. Doctor Cartwright, dean of Rippon, speaking, in a sermon, of the king's promises to the parliament, said, "that the king's promises were free donatives, and ought not to be too strictly examined or urged; and that they must leave his majesty to explain his own meaning in them." The king rewarded him with the bishopric of Chester. The Lords Arundel and Bellasis, whom I noticed in the summary of the last reign, and the Lords Dover and Tyrconnel, all Romanists, he admitted into the privy council; and also the new bishop of Chester, and Doctor Parker, bishop of Oxford, a reputed Romanist.

The judges, gained over to the king's schemes, made a general rule of law in the following points:—

1st..."That the laws of England are the king's laws."

2d..."That therefore it is an incident, inseparable prerogative of the kings of England, as of all other sovereign princes, to dispense with all penal laws in particular cases, and upon particular necessary reasons."

3d..."That of these reasons and necessities the king is the sole judge, consequently,"

4th...That this is not a trust invested in and granted to the king, but the ancient remains of the sovereign power of the kings of England, which never was yet taken from them, nor can be."

In consequence of this decision, the Romanists, with the king's permission, set up, every where in the kingdom, the free and open exercise of their religion. The Jesuits erected colleges and seminaries in all large towns, and, at the same time, four Romish bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel. Monks appeared in the habits of their order; and great numbers of priests and monks were called over from foreign parts. No posts of honour or profit could be pretended to but by Romanists, or such as were thought ready to become so. All affairs of the council passed through their hands, or such as possessed unsettled principles of religion. The king sent

a circular letter to the bishops, with an order, prohibiting all the inferior clergy from preaching upon controverted points of divinity. The great body of the church of England clergy, with the exception of a very few rotten members, like the bishop of Chester, now took the alarm, and shewed themselves faithful watchmen in the threatening storm of darkness and of danger. Far from prevaricating, they summoned up all their fortitude; threw themselves in the gap; braved the storm; openly confessed their Divine Master, who will openly reward them with the great and glorious confession to his Father, before men and angels—boldly preached the truth, undismayed by the fear of man; and finally obtained the victory! for themselves, the never fading crown of truth and faithfulness—for their country, and countrymen, a great and glorious rescue from tyranny and oppression, and a fixed settlement of the most valuable of all human rights and possessions—religious and civil liberty. Among these eminent men were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Williams, Tennison, Clagget, Wake, Gee, Patrick, Whitby, Sharp, and Sherlock. These were all afterwards promoted to the first dignities in the reign of William the third.

The king and his popish council were very much offended with this boldness, and therefore, in order to force the protestant clergy into a compliance, the king erected a new court for the management of ecclesiastical affairs, among whom were some Romanists; who were thus invested with a power to direct the protestant clergy in matters of doctrine and discipline. To these commissioners he granted full power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, extending to suspensions, deprivations, &c.

Soon after this commission was opened, Doctor Sharp, in a sermon, vindicated the church of England, and pointed out the errors of popery. The king, on this, sent a letter to the bishop of London, commanding him forthwith to suspend Doctor Sharp. To this illegal exertion of authority, the bishop of London, not yielding obedience, was himself suspended.

It began to be now understood, that the king was resolved to keep measures no longer. He had formed a

camp of fifteen thousand men upon Hounslow Heath, at a time of profound peace. In this camp was a public chapel, where mass was celebrated every day.

Before I pass from the year 1685, I have to notice an event by which it is memorable: the revocation of the edict of Nantz. This edict was passed in 1598, by Henry the fourth, of France, by which protestants enjoyed toleration. It was revoked by Louis the fourteenth, in 1685. Above half a million protestants were forced, consequently, to leave France, for various countries; of whom fifty thousand settled in England.

James's next step, 1686, was to send an ambassador to Rome, "to reconcile the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the holy see, from which for more than an age they had fallen off by the NORTHERN HERESY!"

Innocent the eleventh, who then sat in the chair, would have been better pleased that he had deferred this step; not considering matters sufficiently ripe for it. The result, in a short time, proved that he was a better politician than James.

In 1687, the king, not finding the parliament disposed as he wished, again prorogued it; determining to dispense with the laws by his own authority: some striking instances of which now occurred.

The vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge received a letter from the king, commanding the university "to admit to the degree of master of arts, Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, without administering any oath or oaths whatsoever, notwithstanding any statute or law to the contrary, which the king was pleased to dispense with in favour of the said Alban Francis." This not having been done, the king sent a second letter, commanding them "to do it at their peril." The university continuing to stand its ground, the vice-chancellor was, in short, by the new ecclesiastical commissioners, deprived of his office.

Soon after, the presidentship of Oxford college falling vacant, the vice-president announced a day for a new election. Before the day came, the members of the college were informed that the king had granted a par-

ticular mandate in favour of Mr. Anthony Farmer, a man of ill reputation, and who had promised to declare himself a Romanist. Upon this, they presented a petition to the king, praying him either to leave them to the choice of their president, according to their founder's statutes; or to recommend a person who might be more serviceable to his majesty and to the college. The answer received was "that the king must be obeyed." The college, however, on the day appointed, elected, by a large majority, Doctor Hough. This provoking the king, the vice-president and fellows were cited to appear before the ecclesiastical commissioners at Whitehall. Accordingly, six fellows, deputed by the society, appeared: and, to the question, why they refused to obey the king's mandate? they, in answer, produced their statutes, and the oath which they had taken for the observation of them; by which statutes, Farmer could have no pretension, being totally unqualified. However, the commissioners deprived Doctor Hough, and a second mandate was granted in favour of Doctor Parker, bishop of Oxford. The fellows of the college found him no better qualified than Farmer, and refused to obey this new mandate. This so provoked the king, that he went down to Oxford, resolved at all hazards to overcome their obstinacy. He ordered them before him, and spoke to them in terms sufficient to have intimidated men of less firmness and resolution. He bad them admit the bishop of Oxford, or they should feel the weight of his displeasure. But they remained firm.—Finding this, the king appointed a commission to visit the college, delegated to Cartwright, bishop of Chester, and two of his judges. These commissioners treated the fellows with rudeness and abuse: but found, that of twenty-seven in number, they could succeed but with two. Twenty-five, therefore, they deprived, and expelled. The fellows protested against this sentence, declaring, "they would use all just and legal ways of being relieved." The sentence was, nevertheless, confirmed by the ecclesiastical commissioners, and aggravated by declaring the president and fellows incapable of being admitted to any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice. The president refused

to put the bishop of Oxford in possession of his lodgings, and therefore the door was broke open; the college filled with Romanists; and Charnock, one of the two rotten members, was made vice-president. This Charnock was, in the succeeding reign, hanged for conspiring to assassinate King William.

These strides were rapid and alarming. It was seen, too, that conforming to popery was the high road to, and only qualification for, all preferments in the state. This degraded bigot—this "king of shreds and patches," now conferred all offices on the most violent and bigoted papists, totally disregarding, in his political estimate, any consideration of talents or of virtue. The execrable Jeffries was lord-chancellor; a minister exhibiting to the contempt and gathering indignation of the great majority of the English people, as exact a type in the state of such a monarch, as Cartwright was in the church. In the mean time, the king wished to corrupt, (or convert, if the reader pleases,) the members of the parliament, which had been prorogued, previous to its meeting. For this purpose, he closeted, one by one, all that were in London to attend the house. With some, as will always happen in similar cases, where a king is the suitor, and where compliance and interest go hand in hand, he succeeded. No age, unfortunately for the human race, has been deficient in its share of that description of celebrated and self-sufficient personages, whose notions of religion are very complaisant to their interests. But, fortunately for the country, all his art could not move the firmness of the majority of the parliament. Finding himself unsuccessful, he dissolved the parliament by proclamation.

The king's great endeavour now was for a new parliament at his devotion. He therefore issued *quo warrantos* against divers corporations, to deprive them of their charters, and, by granting new ones, to rule the elections. Arguments, promises, and menaces were used to persuade or intimidate the people. Magistrates and lord-lieutenants were displaced; but, chiefly, particular men were closeted, to engage them in the king's measures. He went himself through the different counties, and stopped at the cities

and great towns, to cajole or intimidate the people. But he saw such a general reluctance to his designs, that he durst not hazard the calling of a parliament. The eyes of the people were opened to his real design of subverting liberty and religion, and they would not be the instruments of their own ruin.

The result of the embassy to Rome, notwithstanding the bishop of Rome's opinion that the step was precipitate, was, nevertheless, the sending a nuncio to reside in England. Previous to this year, 1687, he had been only privately acknowledged. But now the king pulled off the mask, and the exasperated people saw, with astonishment, making his public and pompous entry at Windsor, clothed in his pontifical habit, preceded by a cross bearer, and a train of priests and monks in the habits of their respective orders, the bishop of Rome's nuncio: a character, the assuming which had been made high treason by the laws of the land! The king ordered the duke of Somerset to attend the nuncio to his audience; who desired to be excused from an office the laws of the land made criminal. The duke had sufficient sense to discover, that high treason may be easier committed by opposing the laws of the land, even though he obliged the king by the action, than by a compliance with the king which would run counter to the laws. His penetration and firmness, however, could not preserve some posts he occupied; from which the king dismissed him. But it is presumable, that the approbation of the internal monitor more than compensated him for the loss of these: and the king procured another lord, less scrupulous, to accept the office which Somerset refused. At the same time, Father Petre, a Jesuit, the king's confessor, was publicly admitted into the privy council; which was almost wholly popish, and entirely under the control of the king and this Jesuit.

The test and penal laws were fences now too feeble to secure religion, for which they were intended; and all things portended an approaching storm. A king resolved to complete his work, let what would be the consequence: an army of fifteen thousand men, encamped within a few

miles of London: the expectation of aid from France: and the fulsome addresses of some protestant corporations, promising base, treacherous, and interested compliance: these, and the melancholy expected consequence of the king's success, by the spreading of corruption, in effecting his object, namely, a renewal of such days as those of the bloody Mary; were sufficiently alarming, even to the vast and firm majority of English protestants; notwithstanding the vision of hope beyond the boundary of this wretched bigot's inglorious life and reign. But to cut off the hope of release from the already too oppressed and exasperated people, a proclamation was issued, ordering thanks for the queen's being with child. The protestants began to form suspicions about this pregnancy. Some Jesuits published, that the queen "would certainly be delivered of a prince." They pretended that "this conception was miraculous, and the effect of a solemn petition which the late deceased duchess of Modena had put in heaven to the blessed Virgin Mary; or of a vow the queen had made to our lady of Loretto, with the present of a golden image, enriched with precious stones."

The Romish priests and Jesuits having printed and dispersed a great number of controversial writings, which had been answered by Tillotson, Tennison, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, &c.; the king, fearing these learned men would have been too many for the Romish writers, adopted a compendious method of determining the controversy, in favour of those of his own persuasion, by a proclamation, containing a prohibition of such publications by protestants.

The king's great design was to get the test act and penal laws repealed. These he had dispensed with already, by his own authority. But he thought it would contribute greatly to quiet the minds of the people, if they were repealed regularly by an act of parliament. He thought also, that if the consent of the prince and princess of Orange could be obtained, it would be a great step towards inducing the parliament. Having sent a representation to Holland, therefore, endeavouring

to persuade them "that it was for their own interest, and that of England, that the test act should be abrogated, and the laws made against Roman catholics repealed:" The answer was—"that the opinion of the prince and princess was, that the Roman catholics ought to enjoy a full liberty of conscience, without being molested on account of their belief. That if this only was asked, the prince and princess freely gave their consent. That as to the non-conformists, they did not only consent, but heartily approved of their having an entire liberty of conscience, for the exercise of their religion, without any trouble, hindrance, or molestation on that score. But they could not by any means agree to the repeal of the test, and those other penal laws that tended to the security of the protestant religion; since the Roman catholics received no other prejudice from these, than their being excluded from parliament and public employments; and that by them the protestant religion is sheltered from all the designs of the Roman catholics against it, or against the public safety."

James, having ascertained this; finding also by a new effort that he could not procure a parliament at his devotion; foreseeing that all his artifices would prove unsuccessful, and that he should be obliged to use force to effect designs which he was resolved not to give over; set about increasing his army and fleet. The new commissions were almost all bestowed on Irish and popish officers. He issued a declaration for liberty of conscience, as he termed it; the substance of which was to abrogate the laws by his sole authority, by dispensing with the oaths and tests. This declaration he published. But the bare publication would not do. He issued an order in council, enjoining the bishops to see it sent and distributed throughout their several dioceses, to be read during divine service. This insidious design to make the protestant bishops his instruments against the protestant religion, and the chief fences of the British constitution, greatly perplexed upright and conscientious men, who had always, in lawful commands, evinced their obedience: but who now saw through his schemes.

Some of them, who were in London, assembled at the archbishop's palace at Lambeth. The result of their learned and pious deliberations was, rather to endure all that human malice could inflict, than violate their good faith to God and to their country. "In all the changes and chances of this mortal life," there is no other line of conduct which can ensure safety but this. When every thing human conspired, on the one hand, to threaten their temporal destruction; and, on the other, lay every human stimulus, added to their personal safety, and even their lives; they preferred their duty to their interest, their safety, and their lives; and placed their trust and confidence in Him, who is "the resurrection and the life." They knew in whom they trusted; and their hope was not vain. Guided by the spirit of God into all truth, they bore witness to the truth: and, in this cause, in no wise "fearful and unbelieving," they resigned, chearfully, their venerable persons to the utmost "that man could do unto them:" and found themselves supported, and at last rescued, even in this life, "by the gracious and ready help" of their Lord and their God. I think it necessary to elucidate these observations, by relating some of the leading particulars of an event, the noblest and most instructive that has occurred in the history of the world.

The names of these bishops were Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn, of Bath and Wells, Turner, of Ely, Lake, of Chichester, White, of Peterborough, and Trelawney, of Bristol. These seven bishops presented a petition to the king, on behalf of themselves and others of their absent brethren, and of the inferior clergy of their respective dioceses, stating, "that their averseness to publishing the declaration, proceeded neither from any want of duty and obedience to his majesty, nor any want of tenderness to dissenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit when the matter should be considered and settled in parliament and convocation: but, among other considerations, because that declaration was founded upon such a dispensing

power, as had been often declared illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672: and in the beginning of his majesty's reign: and was a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that they could not in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it." The king, exasperated, answered, "If I change my mind, you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my commands shall be obeyed." The bishops replied, "We resign ourselves to the will of God:" and immediately retired.

The bishops of Durham and Rochester, both ecclesiastical commissioners, and two others, caused the declaration to be read in their dioceses. But it generally fell out wherever it was read, that the congregation immediately left the church. The king resolved to proceed to extremities with the seven bishops, and summoned them to appear before the council. They were asked whether they owned the petition. They replied, they did. The chancellor, Jefferies, asked them, whether they would give their recognizances to appear before the court of king's bench to answer this high misdemeanor? They all refused, insisting on the privilege of their peerage, which they were resolved to maintain as well as the rights of the church; being equally bound by their callings to oppose all innovations both in government and religion.

The chancellor, surprised at their constancy, threatened to send them to the tower, and to prosecute them to the utmost rigour of the law, unless they immediately recanted, and withdrew their petition. They unanimously answered "that they were ready to go whithersoever his majesty was pleased to send them; that they hoped the king of kings would be their protector and their judge; that they feared nothing from men; and that having acted according to law, and their own consciences, no punishments should ever be able to shake their resolutions."

A warrant was then drawn up, and signed by the popish council, for their commitment; for contriving, making, and publishing, a seditious libel against his

majesty and his government; and the attorney-general and solicitor-general ordered to prosecute them. It was not thought proper to send them to the tower through the streets of London, for fear it might occasion some tumult: they were therefore, in the most private manner, sent by water. But it could not be done so privately as to escape the knowledge of the people, who in crowds ran down to the river side, and all the way, upon their knees, desired their blessing, extolling and encouraging their constancy. The same spectacle, to the king's great mortification, was renewed at the tower, where the soldiers of that garrison fell upon their knees to ask their blessing.

Two days after the bishops were imprisoned, the young prince of Wales, who was afterwards the pretender, and whose birth was suspected, made his appearance. On this, the king again practised to obtain a parliament composed of members who would, as it was termed, "serve him in his own way." Disappointed in this, he ordered over some of the popish regiments which had been raised in Ireland.

The bishops were soon brought to their trials. Their counsel defended them legally and ably. Two of the judges, Holloway and Powell, more upright than the others, charged the jury much in the same strain. Holloway said, "that if the jury were satisfied that the petition was presented with no ill intention, but only to shew the reasons of the petitioners' disobedience to the king's command, he could not think it to be a libel." Powell maintained, "that the petition could not be a libel, because it was founded in the king's incapacity to dispense with laws, which was very true." The jury acquitted the bishops; which produced loud acclamations throughout London and Westminster. The shouts of joy continued through both cities for several hours. The joy next spread through the camp, and, finally, through the whole kingdom, exhibited by bonfires and illuminations. The king saw this with astonishment and mortification, not unmixed with terror. But, pursuing his infatuated measures, he turned out Holloway and

Powell, and filled their places with two "who would serve him in his own way." Sensible of the general disinclination of the people, he resolved now to make use of open force. But as the assistance of the army was indispensable for this, he determined to try each regiment apart from the rest. He ordered the major of one, to bid the officers and soldiers who were unwilling to contribute to the repeal of the test and penal laws, to lay down their arms. The whole regiment, two captains, and a few popish soldiers excepted, instantly laid down their arms. Speechless with surprise, when he recovered from his astonishment, he commanded the soldiers to take up their arms again, and sullenly told them, that, for the future, he would not do them the honour to ask their advice. Finding that a protestant army was not a fit instrument to convert the nation, he commenced cashiering officers and soldiers, and filling the vacancies with Romanists, and thereby disgusted the whole army. Those who more openly exhibited this disgust, he ordered to be taken into custody, and tried by a court-martial, as mutineers. It was at first believed, that his intention was to have had them condemned to death, but some news from abroad altered the sentence, and they were only cashiered.

The fleet was no better disposed than the army, to assist the king in his designs. This appeared from an attempt of Vice-Admiral Strictland to have mass said on board his ship, which raised such a mutiny and disorder among the sailors, that it was with some difficulty that the officers saved the priests from being thrown overboard.

In the mean time, the order for reading the declaration in churches, was slighted. And one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, urged either by conscience or policy, as matters were now verging to a crisis, threw up his commission.

The eyes of the protestants of all descriptions, church of England, presbyterians, &c. being now completely opened, a union was formed for the preservation of church and state, from the inroads of popery and slavery, at the head of which was placed the prince of Orange.

Of this important trust, many things contributed to render the acceptance imperative on the prince of Orange. The preservation of England; the securing the succession to the princess his wife; but, particularly, the danger to which Holland would be exposed, by king James's success; who, when his designs should be accomplished in England, would, in concert with Louis the fourteenth, of France, turn upon Holland. Numbers of the first rank emigrated to Holland, from whence they corresponded with the most considerable people in England. After several consultations, it was resolved, that the English lords at the Hague, should demand assistance of the states, in the name of all England. This assistance was readily granted. But the preparations for the expedition, although conducted with great secrecy, came at last to James's ears. In the mean time, James gave the governments of Portsmouth and Hull, the keys, as it were, of the kingdom, to two Romanists, and took care to have the majority of officers and soldiers in these garrisons, all of the same religion. It was now owned officially in Holland, that the prince of Orange, having been invited by the English nobility, was preparing to carry them the desired assistance, for restoring the government to its ancient foundation, which King James had quite unhinged. This threw King James and his council into the greatest consternation; who plainly discerned, that William must have been encouraged by the English protestants, and could form no hope of adequate support from the comparatively small number of Romanists. He turned his attention, therefore, when now too late, to the protestants. He first sent for some of the bishops, asked their advice, and declared his readiness to do whatever should be thought necessary for the preservation of the protestant religion, and the liberties of his subjects. The bishops gave him very sincere and proper advice, the relation of which would be superfluous, as it contained precisely the opposite measures to those he had practised. He did redress some grievances. He restored the bishop of London; restored the charter of London, and appointed a church of England man lord mayor;

dissolved the ecclesiastical commission; ordered the bishop of Winchester, visitor of Oxford college, to settle that society regularly, and according to their statutes; issued a proclamation for restoring corporations to their ancient charters, liberties, rights, and franchises; removed popish lord lieutenants, mayors, recorders, &c. and put protestants in their places.

But all was too late. The people doubted his sincerity, and imputed his alacrity in the execution of these measures, to his fears. Suspicion was converted to certainty, by the following occurrence:—The bishop of Winchester, pursuant to the king's order, caused a citation to be fixed on the gates of Oxford college, to recall Doctor Hough, and the ejected fellows of that society. News arrived, in the mean time, of the prince of Orange's fleet having been dispersed by a tempest. The citation was recalled upon some frivolous pretence, and the restoration of the college deferred. But afterwards, upon this news proving false, the king resumed his affection for the college, and it was restored. All doubts were now removed. The whole protestant people resolved now not to be any longer amused, and made the dupes of such treachery: the degraded king was left to the affection, countenance, and support, of his popish subjects alone; and the consequence was, an accelerated march to the edge of the precipice from which he was precipitated.

Of the popish troops, two thousand five hundred now arrived from Ireland; commissions were granted to raise new regiments, and other measures were taken. But nothing was capable of bringing a sufficient aid to his assistance. The mob began to insult the popish chapels; and the king, dreading an insurrection, ordered them to be shut up. Popish priests and Jesuits fled from the impending storm, in great numbers, to foreign parts.

In the midst of all these distractions, the young prince of Wales (whether real or imposed,) was solemnly baptized; the bishop of Rome, represented by his nuncio, being godfather. At the same time, the court received a pamphlet, published in Holland, entitled, "A memorial of the English protestants, presented to their high

mightinesses the prince and princess of Orange." After relating the grievances of the nation, it complained of King James's obliging his subjects to own a suppositious child for the prince of Wales; adding, that his majesty would never suffer the witnesses that were present at the queen's delivery, to be heard and examined. The king knew the suspicions entertained by the people, of which, hitherto, he had pretended to be ignorant, but which he now thought it necessary to allay. He therefore summoned an extraordinary council, the queen dowager, all the lords spiritual and temporal, the lord mayor and aldermen, judges, &c. The queen dowager deposed, that she was in the room when the queen was delivered, without any thing more positive or particular. Of forty witnesses which followed, seventeen of whom were Romanists, the proof was ambiguous. The examinations tended more to confirm, than remove, the suspicions of the English.

The prince of Orange issued a declaration, previously to his coming to England, enumerating the grievances of the English nation, especially the king's arrogating to himself a dispensing power; his advancing papists to civil, ecclesiastical, and military employments, and allowing them to sit in the privy council; his setting up an illegal commission; his turning out the president and fellows of Oxford college, contrary to the provision of magna charta, "that no man shall lose his life or goods, but by the laws of the land;" his allowing popish monasteries, and colleges of Jesuits, to be created; his turning out of public employments all such as would not concur with him in the repeal of the test and penal laws; his invading the privileges, and seizing on the charters of most corporations, and placing popish magistrates in some of them; his subjecting the courts to his despotic power, and putting the administration of justice into the hands of papists; his arming the papists, in contempt of the laws, and giving them commands by sea and land, that he might be in a capacity to enslave the nation; his putting the whole government of Ireland into the hands of papists; his assuming an absolute power in Scotland,

shewing what England might look for. The declaration also stated, that his majesty's evil counsellors made men apprehend the loss of their lives, liberties, honours, and estates, if they should go about to preserve themselves from this oppression by petitions, as in the prosecution of the seven bishops. That a peer (Lord Lovelace,) was treated as a criminal, for saying, "that the subjects were not bound to obey the orders of a popish justice of peace, by law incapable." It stated also, the princess's interest, and his, in the succession, which he must espouse, as well as the protestant religion, and English laws and liberties; to which he was most earnestly solicited by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks. It stated his design to be a free parliament, to which he would refer the inquiry into the birth of the pretended prince of Wales, and of all things relating thereto, and to the right of succession. That for the oppressions set forth, there can be no remedy but in parliament, by a declaration of the rights of the subjects.

The prince of Orange arrived in England on the memorable 5th of November, 1688, with four thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, carrying a flag with English colours, and their highness's arms, surrounded with this motto: "THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND;" and underneath, the motto of the house of Nassau, "I WILL MAINTAIN." But his great support was the cordial welcome of the protestant English nation, whose vital interests were embarked in his success. The king and his adherents sought to have it believed, that he came to conquer England. But the English protestants knew better. Their own invitation; the prince's declaration; his well founded dependance on their powerful superiority; and, above all, the small number of fourteen thousand troops, totally inadequate to such a purpose, serving only for the purpose of co-operation, and the head-quarters to which the English might flock; all these overwhelming facts directly contradicted the king's assertion. The people had no better reason to credit James's assertions now, than they had

hitherto. They looked on him as the conspirer against their religion and liberty, and on William as their deliverer.

An association was entered into by the principal gentlemen of the country, who flocked to William's standard. Numbers deserted from the king's arms, and went over to him. Several lords armed themselves and their tenants for the prince; while, in London, others, together with the archbishops and bishops, united to request the king to call a free parliament, and satisfy the prince of Orange. The king answered, that he would call a free parliament when the prince of Orange should quit the kingdom. This answer did not satisfy the lords, who easily saw, that the king was for no parliament of which he could not be master.

James, quitting London to join his army, and try to prevent farther dissentions, left behind him a council of five lords; of whom, the only popular one was the Lord Godolphin. The other four were, the chancellor, Jeffries, the Lords Powis and Bellasis, both notorious papists, and the Lord Preston, suspected as such. On the day after he had joined his army, the chief officers presented an address, stating, "that upon any occasion they should be glad to spill the last drop of their blood in his service, but that they could not in conscience fight against a prince, who was come over with no other design than to procure the calling of a free parliament, for the security of their religion and liberties." This declaration plainly shewed the king, that he could not rely on his army. The defection of Lord Churchill, (afterwards duke of Marlborough,) and of Prince George, of Denmark, married to his daughter Anne, who now joined the prince of Orange, completed his dismay. He left his army, and returned precipitately to London.

In the mean time, the principal lords and gentlemen in several districts, aided by the inhabitants, proceeded to secure several places: Plymouth, where the Dutch fleet lay secure; Bristol, York, Berwick, Nottingham, Hull, Oxford; and they proceeded to disarm, and turn out of their employments, all papists.

The Princess Anne, accompanied by the bishop of London, mounted and armed, withdrew from London, and joined her husband at Oxford.

A defection thus universal, pervading all ranks, in defence of their religion, laws, liberties, and lives, left James no prospect of escape. The queen's consternation was excessive. Father Petre fled to France. The violent counsels of Jeffries were obsolete. The popish counsellors sheltered themselves as well as they could from the impending storm, let what would become of the king. The fears of the king now pointed out, as his sole refuge, the protestant peers, whose counsels he had rejected, whose offices he had wrested from them, whose persons he had insulted, and whose rights he had trampled on. Of these, he called together the small number, spiritual and temporal, that remained in London, to beg their advice in this emergency. He had the mortification to hear a long enumeration of all his unwarrantable proceedings, since his accession to the throne, and particularly his violent measures to destroy the protestant religion, and subvert the liberties of England. These, they said, occasioned the dangerous symptoms that now appeared in the body politic, and for which there was no other remedy left, than a free parliament. The necessity, therefore, was represented to his majesty:—first, of granting a general pardon to all those who either came over with the prince of Orange, or had joined him since his landing: secondly, of deputing some lords to his highness, to treat with him about a suspension of arms, and to endeavour to bring matters to an accommodation: and lastly, of turning all papists immediately out of their employments, to convince the world that his majesty acted a sincere part.

The king published a proclamation for a free parliament, and declared his intention to comply with the other parts of the advice; but relating to the Romanists, he said, he would leave that matter to be debated in parliament.

Commissioners were sent to the prince of Orange, who put into their hands proposals so reasonable, that the

king could not help owning, they were better than he expected. He demanded the disarming, disbanding, and dismissing from employments all papists, and such persons as were not qualified by law; freedom for the parliament; security for the city of London; and, for himself, the maintenance of his army for six weeks, until the sitting of parliament. So that the king would have come off, in his extreme circumstances, on the easy condition of restoring the government to its ancient constitution.

James appointed a council to meet him on these affairs the next day; but that night, when matters seemed on the eve of accommodation, consulted with some of his popish counsellors, who advised him to withdraw into France, and encouraged his hopes of being restored to what they called his rights, by the arms of France. This advice they influenced the queen to back; who, with her real or pretended son, departed for France, and was quickly followed by the king.

The queen arrived in France. The king, in disguise, accompanied by only three persons, took water at Whitehall; in the strictest sense of the word, abdicating, without making the smallest provision for the government of the kingdom; violating his promise of calling a parliament, the writs for which he caused to be burned; and when he took water, he threw the great seal into the Thames.

When the king's flight was known, about thirty of the lords, spiritual and temporal, repaired to Guildhall, and sent for the lord mayor and aldermen. After a short consultation, they came to a resolution of adhering to the prince of Orange. They sent deputies to him, praying his protection, and his presence in the city.

In the mean time, the mob, who would not be restrained by the militia, assembled in immense numbers, destroyed all the mass houses erected by the king in the city and suburbs, and seizing the chancellor, Jeffries, threatened to tear him to pieces; but he was at last lodged in the tower, where he died soon after.

The king, who was thought to have left the kingdom, but whose vessel was kept back by an adverse wind, was

recognized, seized by the mob, and conducted to an inn at Feversham. He sent for the earl of Winchelsea, who prevailed with him to return towards London.

In London he was well received, and restored to his palace; but some suspicious appearances taking place, among which was an Irish officer firing a pistol at the duke of Grafton, at the head of his regiment, the prince, and the English lords who were with him, resolved in a council, "that the royal palace at Whitehall being still crowded with Irish papists, priests, and Jesuits, his highness could not with ease and safety remain at St. James's, where he must necessarily go the next day, without his majesty and his popish guards were removed within a reasonable distance from London." Some of the council proposed, to send the king prisoner to Breda. But the prince of Orange said, he could not consent to put him under any restraint.

The prince having taken possession of Whitehall and St. James's, the king removed to Rochester.

The nuncio, and some others, were furnished with passes to quit the kingdom.

It being absolutely necessary to put an end to the anarchy under which the kingdom laboured; the prince assembled the lords spiritual and temporal, and thus addressed them: "My lords, I have desired you to meet here, to advise the best manner how to pursue the ends of my declaration, in calling a free parliament, for the preservation of the protestant religion, the restoring the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and settling the same that they may not be in danger of being again subverted." After this he withdrew, and left them to consult together. They voted him particular thanks, and resolved to assemble every day to consult.

The king again resolved to prosecute his design of going to France. This was easy to him, as no person was permitted to stop or hinder him from disposing of himself as he pleased. He accordingly set sail, and arrived there in safety.

The lords now assembled in their house; and, being the persons most authorized to act, there having been no

house of commons summoned, addressed the prince of Orange, "to take upon him the administration of public affairs; both civil and military; the disposal of the public revenue; and the care of Ireland, until the convention could assemble; and to issue out missive letters subscribed by himself, to the lords spiritual and temporal, being protestants, and to the several counties, cities, and boroughs, containing directions for the chusing, within ten days, such a number of persons to represent them, as are of right to be sent to parliament."

They next issued an order commanding all papists to quit London, except the servants of the queen dowager, and of foreign ministers, and of housekeepers who had been traders three years, and popish officers, who should give bail to appear at the term, and to be of their good behaviour in the mean time.

The prince thought, that beside the suffrages of the peers, it was necessary to be authorized by others representing the people. He therefore published an order, "desiring all such persons as had served in any of the parliaments during the reign of the late King Charles the second, to meet him at St. James's upon the 26th of December. He desired likewise, that the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, and fifty of the common council, would be there at the same time." This meeting having taken place at the time appointed, he told them, "that he had desired them to meet him there, to advise the best manner how to pursue the ends of his declaration, in calling a free parliament for the preservation of the protestant religion, and the restoring the rights and liberties of the kingdom."

They then resolved on an address to the prince, similar to that of the lords, to take on him the administration of public affairs, until the meeting of the intended convention, the 22d of January ensuing. The answers returned by the prince to this address, and that of the lords, were the same; "that he would endeavour, as far he was able, to secure the peace of the nation, according to their desire."

The moment William was entrusted with the government, he ordered the French ambassador, who had been

active to promote divisions, to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours.

He next issued out a proclamation, authorizing all public officers, not being papists, to act in their respectice offices, until the meeting of the intended convention, or order to the contrary.

He next sent for the princess of Orange; she being the next constitutional heir to the crown.

In the mean time, the elections went on freely, without any sort of influence: and the convention met the 22d of January, 1689. The two houses presented an address to the prince, in which they acknowledged him, under God, the deliverer of the nation; and approved all he had done in the administration, which they prayed him to continue until farther application should be made to him by them, which should be done with all convenient speed.

On the 28th of January, the house of commons passed the following vote.

"That King James the second, having endeavoured "to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by break- "ing the original contract between king and people, "and, by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked "persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and "withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath abdi- "cated the government, and that the throne is thereby "become vacant."

The next day, the commons farther voted,

"That it hath been found by experience to be incon- "sistent with this protestant kingdom to be governed "by a popish prince."

In the house of lords there was not the same unanimity. This did not please the people; and a petition was drawn up to be presented to the lords, desiring, in plain terms, that the prince and princess of Orange might be settled on the throne. Numbers, of different ranks, signed this petition; but the prince, not liking this way of proceeding, sent the lord-mayor orders to put a stop to this tumultuous project, which the lord-mayor did accordingly.

The lords proposed two amendments to the commons; one, to substitute the word "deserted" for the word

"abdicated:" the other, that the words "and that the throne is thereby become vacant," should be left out. The commons appointed a committee to draw up reasons why they must insist upon their vote, and desired a conference with the lords.

The ultimate result of a long conference was, that the lords concurred in the votes of the commons: and, at last, both houses agreed, and voted severally,

"That the prince and princess of Orange should be "king and queen of England, but that the sole and "full regal power should be in the prince only, in the "name of both."

They then, in full body, waited on the prince and princess, and caused to be read a declaration of rights; and the following new forms of the oaths, in which the oath of allegiance is brought back to its ancient simplicity.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

"I, A. B. do sincerely promise and swear that I will "be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their majesties, "King William and Queen Mary. So help me God."

OATH OF SUPREMACY.

"I, A. B. do swear, that I from my heart abhor, detest, "and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable "doctrine and position, that princes, excommunicated "or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of "Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, "or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no "foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, "hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, "superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical "or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

And they then made them a solemn offer of the crown. This offer, William, on the part of himself, and the princess, declared that they thankfully accepted: and promised to support the religion, laws, and liberties, and study to advance the welfare and glory of the nation.

The same day, they were proclaimed king and queen. The coronation oath, which had been altered for King James, was worded now, to prevent all ambiguity in future, and secure the rights and liberties of the people, in the following plain and comprehensive manner:

CORONATION OATH.

"Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the "people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions "thereto belonging, according to the statutes in parlia- "ment agreed on, and the laws and customs of the "same?"

"I solemnly promise so to do."

"Will you, to your power, cause law and justice, in "mercy, to be executed in all your judgments?"

"I will."

"Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the "laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and "the protestant reformed religion, as by law established? "and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of "this realm, and to the churches committed to their "charge, all such rights and privileges, as by law do "or shall appertain unto them, or any of them?"

"All this I promise to do."

[Then the king or queen, laying his or her hand upon the gospels, shall say,]

"The things which I have here before promised, "I will perform and keep. So help me God."

An act was next passed for turning the convention into a parliament; which it was therein declared to be: and another for settling the oaths as herein described.

Next was passed the act for declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown, to the king and queen and their issue, and after them to the princess Anne and her issue, and after these to the king and his issue by another queen. This act contains the following clause:

"That the kings and queens of England should be "obliged, at their coming to the crown, to take the

"test in the first parliament that should be called at "the beginning of their reign; and that if any king or "queen of England should embrace the Roman-catholic "religion, or marry with a Roman-catholic prince or "princess, their subjects should be absolved of their "allegiance; and that the crown and government of "these realms should from time to time descend to, "and be enjoyed by such persons, being protestants, "as should have inherited the same, in case the said "persons so reconciled to the church of Rome, or "marrying a papist, as aforesaid, were actually dead."

This act also establishes the following rights and liberties of the people of England.

1st..." That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or "execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent "of parliament, is illegal."

2d..." That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, "or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it "hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal."

3d..." That the commission for erecting the late court "of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all "other commissions and courts of the like nature, are "illegal and pernicious."

4th..." That the levying of money for or to the use of the "crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of "parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner, "than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal."

5th..." That it is the right of the subjects to petition the "king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such "petitioning, are illegal."

6th..." That the raising or keeping a standing army within "the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent "of parliament, is against law."

7th..." That the subjects, who are protestants, may have "arms for their defence, suitable to their condition, "and as allowed by law."

8th..." That elections of members of parliament ought to "be free."

9th..." That the freedom of speech, and debates or pro- "ceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or

"questioned, in any court or place out of parliament."
10th..."That excessive bail ought not to be required,
"nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual
"punishments inflicted."
11th..."That jurors ought to be duly impannelled and
"returned; and jurors, which pass upon men in trials
"for high treason, ought to be freeholders."
12th..."That all grants and promises, of fines and for-
"feitures of particular persons, before conviction, are
"illegal and void."
13th..."That for redress of all grievances, and for the
"amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws,
"parliaments ought to be held frequently."

All these acts of the convention parliament, were ratified in a new parliament, which was called soon after.

In Scotland, the following act was passed:

"The estates of the kingdom of Scotland, find and
"declare, that King James the seventh, being a professed
"papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as a
"king, without ever taking the oath required by law,
"and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors,
"invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom,
"and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to
"an arbitrary despotic power; and had governed the
"same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and
"violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, invert-
"ing all the ends of government; whereby he had fore-
"faulted the crown, and the throne was become vacant."

And immediately after, another act was passed, declaring William and Mary king and queen of Scotland, in the same manner, and with the same provisions, as in the english act.

Thus was this glorious revolution and settlement effected by the great body of the English and Scottish nations, without bloodshed; which, like as the religion of the countries had been before brought back to its primitive purity, now brought back the constitution to its original principles, and fixed it upon a surer and firmer basis.

Here a brief appeal to the protestant population of the united empire, will perhaps be considered strictly in point.

I ask then, what is meant by the term Orangemen?—Are not the terms Orangeman and protestant synonymous? What designation shall be given to the vast protestant population who called the prince of Orange to the throne? Does the particular appellation, Orangemen, really imply any discordance between the principles, religious or political, of protestants determined as at present to resist the encroachments of popery and slavery, and the principles of the protestants in former days who did effectually resist and put them down? Are either the spirit or the judgment of our protestaut ancestors, who supported, and whose rights and liberties were supported by, the illustrious prince of Orange, to be indicated at this juncture by intimidation, or by acquiescence in the Jesuitical subtilties of men of whose iron rule, when in power, I have, in this treatise, given a concentrated proof; but who it must be remembered are only formidable when in power! Is it harder to support the existing constitution and the actual laws of the land, than it was to frame them? With positive laws, "by which the throne, the parliament, and the government of the country are made fundamentally protestant," founded on the strongest of all grounds, the will of an enlightened empire, and the absolute necessity of the case, for the conservation of the rights and liberties of its inhabitants: with a faithful and constitutional line of monarchs, who, for a century, since the accession of the illustrious house of Brunswick, have been true to the trust reposed in them by this great empire, and its justly prized constitution, which secures so amply to the subject "the liberty with which Christ has made us free:" is it harder to preserve this establishment, than it was formerly to overthrow a popish establishment and a popish monarch? There need be no apprehensions in supporting, but there should be in opposing the laws. But, suppose the fundamental laws abrogated; the probability, or even possibility of which I am by no means disposed to admit: suppose the Romanists raised to power; filling the throne, the parliament, and the government of the country; (one of Doctor Dromgole's

probabilities;) what inferences do the attestation of history, and the experience of ages, up to the present hour, warrant us in deducing! What do the strictest rules of analogy authorize us to conclude would be the result! Here the grounds for apprehension would be highly reasonable. Mr. Plowden, in his history of Ireland, makes the following candid avowal. "If any one says, or pretends to insinuate, that the modern Roman catholics, who are the objects of the late bounty of parliament, differ in one iota from their predecessors, he is either deceived himself, or he wishes to deceive others. *Semper eadem*, is not more emphatically descriptive of our religion than of our jurisprudence." It cannot neither be asserted that this is but Mr. Plowden's individual opinion; for the Romish ecclesiastical authorities have pronounced their doctrines to be "unchanged and unchangeable." Some of the Romanists, it is true, have manifested a material difference of opinion; and I hope sincerely. But, from the practical proof of the liberality of such an æra as "the exaltation of the catholic church;" which the curious reader will find combined with "the extirpation of heresy," in the bishop of Rome's directions in the Romish prayer book published in Ireland, may God of his infinite mercy preserve this realm! Of his all sufficient power, and of his unmeasured mercy, we have but recently received the most affecting and glorious display: and we cannot be too thankful, nor too careful to evince our gratitude, by the most prompt and unequivocal obedience to all his commandments, for the gracious dispensation of his almighty providence, in preserving these (let us humbly trust,) favoured islands, and in defeating many a dark and deep laid scheme.

It has been objected, that the allegiance of the Orangemen, that is, the protestants, is conditional. The constitutional princes of the house of Brunswick have required no other. Nor have their title and security been the less, but infinitely the more firm on that account. They thence becomes invulnerable. The king, faithful to the true religion, the established constitution, and the

solid interests of the empire; in a word, being a protestant; and the interests of the king and his people being, therefore, the same; who shall shake them? Doctor Dromgoole may be assured, that what he has been pleased to term "the novelty" is *not* "falling." Again, in a limited monarchy, what other could the allegiance be but conditional? Any other would be a contradiction in terms: for unconditional submission of the subjects to the will of a monarch, unqualified by any actual constitution, or previously known laws, constitutes absolute authority in the monarch: a species of authority which appears to me to be the farthest of all others from approximating to that of God; who, with all the real and essential attributes and requisites for absolute authority, has, notwithstanding, been pleased himself to promulgate a code of laws for our observance: obedience to which is made the measure of duty, and consequent happiness; and disobedience the measure of crime, and consequent punishment.

Under the strict accordance with the principles of our happy constitution in church and state, which has been displayed by the upright house of Brunswick; it would have been unnecessary to have used these arguments: but they become imperatively necessary, from the efforts of designing men; and from the fear, that with ignorant and credulous, but, perhaps, well meaning protestants, such efforts may be too successful. I must, therefore, in my humble endeavour to meet every part of the present question on its merits, notice even these jugglers. They are then to be told, that the attempt by James the second, and his Jesuitical counsellors, to enforce, practically, the principle for which they are now contending, lost James his crown. And such protestants as have not been sufficiently informed of the true nature of the British constitution, may be assured, that it is not out of any superior loyalty or affection for the house of Brunswick, that the wish, or the affectation of the wish, is manifested, of conferring on its princes a power, with which that constitution has not invested them; and which they, from a steady principle in their public measures, and

attachment to the genuine elements of a free government, would reject. But a difference has appeared in the opinions, or apparent opinions, of the protestants themselves; which has been first excited, and afterwards carefully nurtured, by a wily, circumventing, Jesuitical, and restless faction, by the most insidious, artful, and treacherous manœuvres, and for the basest of purposes. However, for the comfort of the weak hearted, the number of this kind of protestants, who dissent from their brethren, compared with the vast protestant population of England, Scotland, and Ireland, between whom the most perfect agreement in opinion exists, "is but as a drop in the bucket." And if, from the small number of those who have been ludicrously termed liberal protestants, compared with this vast majority, who are content with the terms illiberal, intolerant, bigoted, corrupt, and consider such terms, so applied, an honour: if, from this small number, were taken the ignorant, the interested, and the fearful, the remainder would be found so very small, that, as a vesture, they may be folded up; for, I apprehend, the remainder would be found to be concealed Romanists, under the mask of protestantism!

Of these three descriptions, ignorant, interested, and fearful protestants, in Ireland, a short sketch is necessary; and this I mean to draw favourably, which, under all the circumstances, candour requires.

By ignorant, I mean those uninformed as to the knowledge which history is calculated to convey; as also, who have not sufficiently, or, in many instances, at all attended to the reports in newspapers, of popish conventions, in their own time.

By interested, I do not mean people interested in the catholic claims, as they are called; but people in trade, who have trembled for their bread; which they have been taught to believe, depended on their being "friends" to "the cause;" and this by the popish parliament in Dublin, and their subaltern conventions in the respective towns. For these, as well as for the first description, a great many allowances are to be made. It is hard for a man to have the support of himself and his family struck

at; and as examples are more powerful than precepts, (even the immaculate precepts of the "catholic board" itself,) some wholesome examples have been made, for the instruction of such as shall dare to oppose "the cause," hereafter, of such presumptuous individuals, in trade, as have had the temerity to vote against popular candidates at elections, or, in any manner, to act in favour or support of the constitution of their country; in other words, in conformity with their sense of duty, and their oaths.

By the third description, composed of "the fearful and unbelieving" solely, I mean those, who, not having the excuse of the second class, but possessing independence in property, are in want of a much greater treasure, independence of mind. Of this description, such as have not the excuse of the first, can plead nothing else than fear; for they will find, they have taken a very flimsy and untenable hold in the affectation of liberality, into which, no sophistry can convert prevarication. Either they are acquainted with, or ignorant of, history. If ignorant, of what value can be their opinions? If informed in history, and calling themselves protestants, and, at the same time, friendly to "the cause of catholicity," what is this but prevarication?

With what face can protestants persist in heaping obloquy upon protestants; and, with ridiculous self importance, glorying in their own duplicity, or, at best, their own ignorance and credulity, call the most abandoned falsehoods, circulated for the most base, designing, and wicked purposes, liberality and illumination!— "Orange murderers and assassins," applied to his majesty's loyal subjects, who support the constitution! "Regal ruffian," applied to the memory of the revered friend and protector of liberty, William the third! "The last remnant of earth's beauty, and the last resting place of heaven's light," applied to the present bishop of Rome, who has restored the Satanic court of inquisition, and the murderous and intriguing order of Jesuits! Such have been among the ornamental flourishes of modern rhetoric; which, if protestants have not spoken, protestant

gentlemen have at least heard, and assented to, in a popish convention in the city of Cork, and have afterwards declared themselves in favour of catholic emancipation! The Orange murderers and assassins, (terms which have been very liberally used in other places and meetings, beside Cork,) are his majesty's loyal subjects and soldiers who put down the rebels on Vinegar Hill, and made the real murderers hide their diminished heads, after a two month's impotent struggle, in the year 1798, in Ireland. In the abstract of the affairs of Ireland, I will furnish the reader with the fictitious rules which were fabricated at that time by the traitors, as the rules of Orangemen, for the purpose of forwarding "the cause," and I now pass to the concluding part of the English abstract.

William had not been long seated on the throne, when an act of toleration was passed. He had formerly expressed the opinion, that no christian should be persecuted for his conscience, in differing from the established religion; and that the penal laws should be repealed, provided those remained in force, by which the Romanists were excluded from parliament, and public offices; but that, as to religion, they should be allowed the same liberty as in Holland.

In 1689, James landed in Ireland; on which, both houses presented an address to William. In his answer, is the following sentence:—"I need not take pains to tell you the deplorable condition of Ireland, which, by the zeal and violence of the popish party there, and by the assistance and encouragement they have from France, is brought to that pass, that it is not advisable to attempt the reducing it, but by a considerable force." I shall not enlarge farther on James's expedition to Ireland, in this place, than to observe that he was beaten; and that, if he had been even victorious, the idea was ridiculous, of thinking to conquer England and Scotland, by Ireland; or of retaining Ireland separately, and independent of England.

The same year, William declared war against the French king. In his declaration, among other just and necessary causes, is the following:—"But that which

most nearly touches us, is his unchristian persecution of many of our English protestant subjects in France, for matters of religion, contrary to the law of nations, and express treaties, forcing them to abjure their religion by strange and unusual cruelties, and imprisoning some of the masters and seamen of our merchant ships, and condemning others to the gallies, under pretence of having on board some of his own miserable protestant subjects, or their effects. And as he has for some years last past endeavoured, by insinuations and promises of assistance, to overthrow the government of England; so now, by open and violent methods, and the actual invasion of Ireland, in support of our subjects in arms, and in rebellion against us, he is promoting the utter extirpation of our good and loyal subjects in that our kingdom."

In 1690, was discovered a design to assassinate the king, by one Jones, an Irishman; with whom King James was proved to have been in concert, by letters taken in the earl of Tyrconnel's cabinet. The account of the connexion which James had had in this conspiracy, William and Mary caused to be suppressed, in tenderness to his character.

In 1691, a plot was discovered, formed by the Lancashire papists, in conjunction with King James, and his popish counsellors in Ireland, to subvert the existing government, and re-inthrone James; for which, a Mr. Ashton, a servant of James's queen, was executed. Connected with this plot, was a conspiracy to assassinate King William, projected by one Parker, Johnson, a priest, and others. But as their consultations had not arrived to maturity, before the king went for a short time to Holland, they assured the general body of conspirators, that the assassination plot should be re-assumed in Holland; and that it was determined, when the king should be taken off, the insurrection should be proceeded on in England. For this conspiracy, one Grandval was executed in the camp, at Flanders, in 1692; and one Du Mont, who had turned approver, was pardoned. It came out, that the French court, and James, were deeply concerned in this black design.

I shall here relate an anecdote which happened a few days after William came to the crown, to shew how very different his principles were from such nefarious tenets. An unknown person wrote to Doctor Burnet, saying, that he had a proposition of great consequence, which he desired to make to the king, provided he might do so safely. To this, the king allowed the doctor to agree. He wrote accordingly to the person, by the name and method pointed out. On meeting the doctor, he told how long he had lived and served in Versailles, and how he knew all the methods of that court; and, at length, offered to kill the French king. At this, the doctor started up and said, he thought the king was too well known for any one to dare offer such a proposition. He had hoped, that he had been also so well known, that none should have made it by him. He was sorry that a promise was given of safety, but he bid the rogue be gone immediately. When he gave an account of this the next day, the king thought he had carried the matter of the promise too far, since it was not to be understood to relate to such crimes; and therefore, he wished that the doctor had seized on him, and ordered him to be sure to do so, if ever he could see him again.

In 1696, another plot was discovered, to assassinate King William, for which a commission was granted by James: who, at the same time, prepared with a French force to invade England. A bill was in consequence passed for a general association. The form of the association begins thus:—"Whereas, there has been a horrid and detestable conspiracy formed and carried on by papists and other wicked traitorous persons, for assassinating his majesty's royal person, in order to encourage an invasion from France, to subvert our religion, laws and liberty, &c." For this plot were executed, Charnock, King, Keys, Sir John Friend, Sir William Perkins, Rookwood, Lowick, Cranburn, Cooke, and Sir John Fenwick. Some of these were Romanists, and others called themselves protestants; but they were such, whose system of religion approaches more nearly to the Romish than to the protestant, or, in other words, scriptural system of christianity.

In 1699, the commons presented an address to the king; stating, "the great concourse to the city of papists and other disaffected persons, and the boldness they assumed from his majesty's unexampled clemency, to keep arms and horses contrary to law, &c.—That numbers of popish priests and jesuits, within the city, intruded themselves into the presence of sick and dying persons, with design to prevail upon them, in their weakness, to be reconciled to the church of Rome; and daily endeavour to pervert and seduce from their allegiance his majesty's good subjects, in poisoning them with their wicked and damnable doctrines and principles; and that they have imported great quantities of popish books, and keep schools to breed up and instruct children in the Romish superstition and idolatry:—and requesting him to issue a proclamation for the removing of papists from London, and putting the laws in execution against them." The king answered,—"that he would take care that the laws should be put in execution, according to their desire:" and issued a proclamation.

Soon after, a remarkable act was passed, which obliged all persons educated in the Romish religion, or suspected to be of it, who should succeed to any estate before they should be of the age of eighteen, to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the test, as soon as they came to that age; and, until they did so, the estate was to devolve to the next of kin, that was a protestant; but should return to them upon taking the oaths. All popish priests were banished by this bill, and were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, if they should again return into England; and the reward of an hundred pounds was offered to every one who should discover a popish priest, so as to convict him. Bishop Burnet, though against persecution for conscience sake, was for this bill. "He had always thought," he said, "that if a government found any sect in religion incompatible with its safety and quiet, it might, and sometimes ought to send away all of that sect, with as little hardship as possible." The provisions of this act, however, were not enforced; as the test relating to matters of doctrine and

worship, did not seem a proper ground for such great severity.

In 1701, the king having pressed the parliament to provide for the succession of the crown after himself and the princess of Denmark; the queen being at this time dead; the commons resolved,

"That for the preserving the peace and happiness of this "kingdom, and the security of the protestant religion "by law established, it is necessary a farther declaration "be made of the limitation and succession of the crown "in the protestant line, after his majesty, and the "princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively. "And that farther provision be first made for the rights "and liberties of the people."

The following preliminaries were then agreed on:

1st.."That whoever shall hereafter come to the possession "of this crown, shall join in communion with the church "of England, as by law established."

2d..."That in case the crown and imperial dignity of this "realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a "native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not "obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any "dominions or territories, which do not belong to the "crown of England, without the consent of parliament."

3d..."That no person, who shall hereafter come to the "possession of the crown, shall go out of the dominions "of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the consent "of parliament."

4th..."That from and after the time, that the farther "limitation of this act shall take effect, all matters and "things relative to the well governing of this kingdom, "which are properly cognizable in the privy council, "by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be trans- "acted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon, shall "be signed by such of the privy council as shall advise "and consent to the same."

5th..."That, after the limitation shall take effect, no person "born out of the kingdom of England, Scotland, or "Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, al- "though he be naturalized or made a denizen, (except

"such as are born of English parents,) shall be capable "to be of the privy council, or a member of either "house of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place "of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant "of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, from the "crown to himself, or to any other in trust for "him."

6th..."That no person, who has an office, or place of "profit under the king, or receives a pension from the "crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the "house of commons."

7th..."That, after the limitation shall take effect, judges' "commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and "their salaries ascertained and established. But, upon "the address of both houses of parliament, it may be "lawful to remove them."

8th..."That no pardon under the great seal of England "be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons of "England."

When these conditions were settled, the princess Sophia, electoress dowager of Brunswick, was named as the successor in remainder; to determine which was passed, "an act for the farther limitation of the crown."

In 1702, an act was passed for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales, and for swearing to the king, by the title of "rightful and lawful king," and his heirs, according to the act of settlement.

In the reign of Queen Anne, 1702, the parliament enacted it to be high treason to endeavour to defeat the succession to the crown, as it was now limited by law, or to set aside the next succession.

An act was passed in 1703, to prevent popish priests from coming into the kingdom.

In 1706, a petition of the gentry and clergy of the south parts of Lancashire, at their monthly meeting, in the borough of Wigan, for suppressing profaneness and immorality, was presented to the house of commons, complaining of several grievances they laboured under from the priests, Romish gentry, and popish emissaries, and praying for redress and relief. After reading this

petition, it was unanimously resolved to address the queen—"that she would be pleased to issue out her royal proclamation for the putting in execution the laws in force against all such persons, as had endeavoured, or should endeavour, to pervert her majesty's subjects to the popish religion." And they ordered that a bill be brought in "for making more effectual the act of the eleventh year of his late majesty's reign for the farther preventing the growth of popery." The substance of the act, eleventh of William, I have given in its proper place in the year 1699. The additional matter proposed now, was, that Romanists should, within six months after having attained eighteen years, not only declare themselves protestants, but prove also, that they had made such a declaration, or their estates should devolve as is in that act specified. The reader will observe that the essential difference was, that, by the proposition now made, the *onus probandi* would have been laid on the possessors of estates; whereas, by the act of 1699, it lay on the claimants: a kind of proof necessarily more difficult; and which, when accomplished, availed them no longer than while the original possessors refused taking the oaths. The bill now proposed was objected to, on the principles of liberty of conscience and toleration. It was answered, that the dependence of those of that religion on a foreign jurisdiction, and at present, on a foreign pretender to the crown, put them out of the case of other subjects who might differ from the established religion, since there seemed to be good reason to consider them as enemies rather than as subjects. But the bill did not pass; and, as I before observed, even the provisions of the act of 1699 were not enforced. The lords, however, addressed the queen—"That a more watchful eye should be had over the British priests and papists for the future; and, for that purpose, that a distinct and particular account should be taken of all papists and reputed papists in the kingdom, with their respective qualities, estates, and places of abode; and that the several accounts of these inquiries be laid before their house at the next session of parliament." To this address the queen answered, "That she was fully con-

vinced, that the insolent behaviour of the papists had made what their lordships advised necessary to be done, for the safety of her person and government, and the welfare of her people; and that she would give the necessary orders for every thing their lordships desired." But whatever orders were given, they were very negligently executed.

"The four last years of Queen Anne," which is the title of a production of Dean Swift's, presented to England a miserable and disgraceful contrast, compared with the preceding glorious years of her reign. For the events of those years of exaltation to the glory, character, and prosperity of the country, both at home and abroad; and of these of abasement—I refer the reader to Tindal's continuation of Rapin's history, and to the parliamentary history; which fully contradict Doctor Swift: and shall only summarily state, that some of the truest friends to England were persecuted; and in particular, the duke of Marlborough; a hero no less illustrious, for it would be impossible he could be more so, than our own justly celebrated duke of Wellington:—a hero who raised England to a pitch of glory unprecedented in her annals, by victories, during Anne's first years, such as even William failed in achieving. This distinguished man, and several other real patriots, who possessed true English and constitutional principles, were, in her last years, dismissed, disgraced, and persecuted; as the ultimate reward of their glorious and transcendent services.

At this time, a club of above one hundred Irish papists met at the Sun tavern, in the Strand, to feast, drink the pretender's health, and assert his right. The lord Fingal was chosen steward: and on the tickets of admission was the image of a pope, or popish saint, treading heresy under foot.

On the first day of August, 1714, the gracious providence of God dispelled the misty clouds which had been gathering during these "four last years;" by the memorable, happy, and glorious event of the accession of George the first; of the illustrious and true protestant house of Brunswick.

In 1716, a rebellion broke out, which was soon suppressed.

In 1722, a plot was discovered; of which the Lord Townshend, secretary of state, wrote to the lord mayor of London in substance as follows: "That his majesty had received repeated advices that several of his subjects have entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a popish pretender, with a traitorous design to overthrow our excellent constitution both in church and state, and to subject a protestant free people to tyranny and superstition."

In 1723, great numbers of the protestants in France were hanged; and their assemblies prohibited, their places of worship pulled down, and sentence of the gallies proclaimed against all who harboured them.

In the reign of George the second, 1736, Frederick, prince of Wales, was married to the princess of Saxe Gotha, sister to the reigning duke, and a protestant. The nation in general was highly pleased with this marriage. The two houses of parliament distinguished themselves upon the same occasion; and the house of commons, on the 29th of April, resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to congratulate his majesty upon the nuptials of his royal highness the prince of Wales; and to express the satisfaction and great joy of his faithful commons on this happy occasion, which they look upon with unspeakable comfort, as the means, under the Divine Providence, of giving an additional strength to the protestant interest, and of securing to all future ages, the laws and liberties of this nation, in the full manner we now happily and thankfully enjoy them, under the protection of his majesty's just and mild government over his people." The house came to the like resolution with regard to her majesty, and their royal highnesses the prince and princess of Wales: and similar proceedings were held in the house of peers.

In the year 1745, the following association was entered into in Yorkshire, in consequence of the rebellion which then broke out. "Whereas there is now a horrid and unnatural rebellion formed and carried on in Scotland by

papists and other wicked and traitorous persons, countenanced and supported by the old and inveterate enemies of our country, and the religion and liberties thereof, the crowns of France and Spain, in order to dethrone his present majesty, King George, the only rightful and lawful king of these realms, and, having subverted our religion, laws, and liberties, (which God forbid,) to set upon the throne a popish pretender, a dependant to their tyrannous and corrupted courts: we, the lord archbishop of York, lord lieutenants, justices of the peace, clergy, gentlemen, freeholders, and others, of the county of York, whose names are here subscribed to this writing, and every of us, being of opinion, that in times of danger and treasonable practices as these are, an union of our hearts and forces will be most conducing to his majesty's safety, and the public good of our country, do voluntarily and willingly, bind ourselves, every one of us to the other, jointly and severally, in the bond of our firm and loyal society, and do hereby promise, that with our whole power, bodies, lives, and estates, we, and every of us, will stand by and assist each other in the support and defence of his majesty's sacred person and government, and will withstand, offend, and pursue, as well by force of arms, as by all other means, the said popish pretender and traitors, and also all manner of persons, of what state soever they be, and their abettors, that shall attempt, act, counsel, or consent to any thing that shall tend to the harm of his majesty, King George, or of his royal highness the prince of Wales, or any of their issue, or to the subversion of his majesty's government. And we do by this instrument declare, that no one of us shall, for any respect of persons or causes, or for fee or reward, separate ourselves from this association, or fail in the prosecution thereof, during our lives. Dated at the castle of York, the 24th of September, 1745."

Six thousand of the rebels marched into England, to whom the town and castle of Carlisle surrendered.

The city of London and the various public companies shewed great loyalty, and entered into large subscriptions for the relief and encouragement of the army. The

society of friends, commonly called quakers, sent ten thousand woollen waistcoats for the use of the soldiers, the season having been very severe. Numerous loyal associations were formed, among which that of the lawyers was remarkable. They formed themselves into a regiment, under the command of lord chief justice Willes, for the defence of the royal family, in such manner as the king should think proper, within London and Westminster, to be called "The associated regiment of the law, for the defence of the royal family, and the preservation of the constitution in church and state." In consequence of this association, the lord chancellor, the master of the rolls, the twelve judges, the attorney-general, the solicitor general, the king's sergeants and council, with the benchers and barristers of the several societies of the law, proceeded in about two hundred coaches from Westminster-hall to St. James's palace, where they presented to his majesty their association, and were received with particular marks of regard. There is no precedent of such a compliment paid to any former king of England.

In the mean time, a proclamation was issued, for apprehending, and bringing to trial, all Jesuits and popish priests, natural born subjects of his majesty, who should be found in, or within ten miles of, London and Westminster; with a reward of one hundred pounds for each, upon conviction.

In a very short time the rebels were forced to surrender; previous to which they supplicated for terms. The following was the duke of Cumberland, the governor's answer. "All the terms his royal highness will, or can grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle, are, that they shall not be put to the sword, but reserved for the king's pleasure."

This rebellion, and its suppression, excited a greater spirit of loyalty and affection to the government than had even before existed, and thus made invulnerable the constitution which it meant to shake.

When the rebellion was completely suppressed, some executions of the ring leaders took place, and pardon was extended to the misguided people.

Our present upright and virtuous monarch, George the third, succeeded his grand-father, George the second, in 1660: Frederick, his father, having died before George the second.

In 1778, an act was passed, relaxing the penal laws against Romanists. Previously, a very dutiful and proper address had been presented to his majesty, by the Romish peers and commoners, containing language, displaying very different sentiments indeed from those which have lately distinguished the Irish petitions, speeches, and resolutions; to wit:—"They assure his majesty of the respectful affection which they bear to his person, and their true attachment to the civil constitution of their country; which having been perpetuated through all changes of religious opinions and establishments, has been at length perfected by that revolution which has placed his majesty's illustrious house on the throne of these kingdoms, and inseparably united his title to the crown with the laws and liberties of his people." Here is an admission made by Romanists of the protecting influence of the British constitution: and can any thing be more manifest? Can any impartial Romanist in the British dominions, doubt that his best security is that constitution? If he do, let him but turn over the voluminous pages of history, of which I have given a brief, but faithful sketch, and he will discover, that he enjoys that liberty, not only civil, but religious, which his ancestors, chained down by priest-craft, dared not look for! The parliament, influenced by the same candid, liberal, and compromising spirit, which dictated this sensible and prudent petition of the English Romanists, proceeded to the repeal of some of those laws, which, however necessary and defensive in the times of danger when they were enacted, it justly appeared to them, might be then mitigated. The act which was passed, abolished the punishment of popish priests or Jesuits, who should be found to teach or officiate in the services of their church; which acts were felony in foreigners, and high treason in the natives of England. But it provides that nothing contained in it shall extend to any

popish bishop, &c., who shall not have taken, before he shall have been apprehended, or any prosecution commenced against him, an oath, which is, in substance,—to be faithful to the king, to defend him against conspiracies, to disclose treasons, and conspiracies against him, and to support the succession of the crown in the Brunswick family; renouncing and abjuring the pretender; rejecting the doctrines, that it is lawful to murder heretics; that no faith is to be kept with heretics; and that princes excommunicated may be deposed or murdered; abjuring the bishop of Rome's temporal authority, and his power of dispensing with the oath. The act also abolished the forfeitures of popish heirs, who had received their education abroad, and whose estates went to the next protestant heir; also, the power given to the son, or other nearest relation being a protestant, to take possession of the father's or other relation's estate, during the life of the real proprietor; and also, the depriving Romanists of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchase.

In 1789, a protestation against the following doctrines was signed by seventeen hundred and forty English Romanists. That princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or other persons. That implicit obedience is due from them to the orders and decrees of popes and general councils. That no church, nor prelates, priests, or assemblies of them, have jurisdiction or authority within the realm. They deny the pope's power of dispensing with oaths; that popes, or priests, have power to pardon sins at their pleasure; and that no faith is to be kept with heretics.

In 1791, an act was passed, providing that Romanists who shall take and subscribe the oath of allegiance, abjuration, and declaration, therein appointed, shall not be summoned to take the oath of supremacy, and make the declaration against transubstantiation, or be prosecuted for not obeying such summons; shall not be required to register their names and real estates, or enrol their deeds and wills; shall be allowed to practise as

lawyers, attornies, notaries, &c.; shall not be prosecuted upon the former statutes; shall be allowed to keep schools; &c. But ecclesiastics must give their names, descriptions, and places of assembly, to the clerk of the peace, at the quarter sessions; and no religious assemblies shall be with doors locked or bolted; all offending, to receive no benefit from the act. It is also provided, that no benefit in the act shall extend to any Romish ecclesiastic, who shall officiate in any place of congregation or assembly for religious worship, permitted by this act, with a steeple or bell; or at any funeral, at any church or church-yard, or who shall exercise any of the rites of his religion, or wear the habit of his order, save within some place of congregation allowed by this act, or in a private house, where there shall not be more than five persons assembled, beside those of the household, or who shall not, previously to his so officiating, or exercising his functions as aforesaid, have taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance, abjuration, and declaration, herein appointed. The oath is similar to that which I have described in the act of 1778. By this act, any person disturbing a priest in his place of worship, upon proof by two witnesses, incurs a penalty of 20l. provided the priest shall have taken and subscribed the oath, shall not be officiating in a chapel with a steeple or a bell, or at any funeral in a church or church-yard, or shall not be exercising any of the rites of his religion, or wearing the habit of his order, except in chapels or private houses.

Of the events, since this period, of his majesty's beneficent and constitutional reign, one of the last, previous to his lamented illness, is the only one which is material to my subject. On the 24th of March, 1807, a memorable and glorious day, the king dismissed the administration which has been ludicrously designated "all the talents;" an appellation which they gave themselves; for having pressed on him the unconstitutional measure which is termed catholic emancipation, which he magnanimously and constitutionally declared he could not accede to, contrary to his coronation oath! Conduct such as this, in strict unison with the constitution, is calculated to

secure to a British monarch, not only the affections of his protestant subjects, who, in spite of all exaggerations and falsehoods in "the cause of catholicity," are, at the very least, four-fifths of his people, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also, an inheritance that fadeth not away; a crown eternal and incorruptible in the heavens, the sure reward of faith unbroken to God and man, and of a steady adherence to the paths of truth and righteousness. His bright example has been nobly and firmly followed by his illustrious, honourable, and intelligent son, George, prince regent; and the chief consolations to his true and loyal subjects, in their sincere sorrow for his illness, are, that if it be the will of the King of kings, not to grant him complete restoration in this life, his sufferings are but for a time, and "are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in him;" and that the nation has had worthy and splendid proof of the administration of his *lawful* and *rightful* successor.

I come now to the Irish abstract.

Ireland, in ancient times, was, as it is now, one of the British islands. Its first colonies were from England. They are said to have settled in Ireland, anno mundi 2657. But they were obliged to yield to the Milesian adventurers from Spain, anno mundi 2934; who held the rule until 1172, anno Christi, when Ireland reverted to its original possessors, by submitting to Henry the second.

Anatolius and Palladius had first preached in Ireland; but Ireland was more generally converted to christianity by Patricius, anno Christi 432, who was so named by Celestine, then bishop of Rome, when he consecrated him a bishop, and sent him on that mission to Ireland.

It is agreed by all writers, that Ireland did not submit to the supremacy of Rome, until the year 1152; when Cardinal Paparon, sent by Eugenius, then bishop of Rome, was admitted into Ireland as legate: nor had the Romish liturgy, and chanting mass, been used, at the earliest, before 1110, nor generally settled before 1171; which, the year following, was confirmed by Henry the second.

In a bull which the bishop of Rome granted Henry, previous to his conquest of Ireland, are the following words:—"Ireland, and all the islands on which Christ, the Sun of Righteousness hath shone, and which have received the doctrines of the christian faith, do belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter, and of the holy Roman church." Horrid and blasphemous contradiction to the words of Him, who declared, that "His kingdom was not of this world!"

In the reign of Henry the third, Doctor Leland observes, "the exactions of the see of Rome in England, were odious; in Ireland, utterly intolerable. Here the wretched laity were stripped even of their very necessaries, the churches of their ornaments, to supply the rapacious demands of legates and nuncios." "Attempts were made, as in England, to overspread the kingdom with Italian ecclesiastics." The most artful contrivances were used by the clergy, to encroach on the civil power, and draw every suit to their own tribunals, "so that the king was obliged to direct his deputy to confine them to the cognizance of causes testamentary or matrimonial." The common law adjudged children born before wedlock, illegitimate; the canon law, legitimate. When trials were directed by writ, the spiritual courts decided contrary to the law of the land. The civil courts, therefore, confined the clergy to the inquiry, whether the party had been born before, or after wedlock. The prelates complained, and demanded of the parliament, "that the common law should be reduced to a conformity with the canon." The answer was, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*"

By the statute, thirty-second of Henry the sixth, 1454, all statutes against provisors, as well in England as in Ireland, are in force in Ireland. By the seventh of Edward the fourth, 1467, none shall purchase benefices from Rome, on pain of incurring the penalties of the statutes against provisors; which cannot be pardoned by the king's letters patent, and only by act of parliament. And by the tenth of Henry the seventh, 1495, all statutes against provisors, in England and Ireland, are again confirmed, and to be executed in Ireland.

At the time of the reformation, the clergy were without knowledge, and the laity without instruction; and both, of course, abjectly attached to the papal authority. The reformation was, consequently, strongly opposed. Cromer, primate of Armagh, pronounced a tremendous curse on all who should acknowledge the king's supremacy. Archbishop Browne, and some of his suffragans, men of more religion and information than the rest, and who supported the reformation, were treated with outrage, and their lives endangered. The king's supremacy was, however, by the twenty-eighth of Henry the eighth, enacted:—All appeals in spiritual cases to, or obeying processes from, Rome, were taken away, under pain of premunire, as in England; and the English laws against slandering the king, and for paying first fruits to the king, were enacted. All officers of trust were directed to take the oath of supremacy; refusing which, was made high treason. And an act also was passed, for suppressing religious houses. By another act, the authority of the bishop of Rome was more solemnly renounced; the preamble to which, I give, verbatim, as it may gratify the curiosity of such readers as may not have an opportunity of coming at the original, in the Irish statutes:—"Forasmuch, as notwithstanding the good and wholesome laws, ordinances, and statutes, heretofore made, enacted, and established by the king's highness, our most gracious sovereign lord, and by the whole consent of this high court of parliament, for the extirpation, abolition, and extinguishment out of this land, of the pretended power, and usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, (by some called the pope,) used within the same, which did obfuscate and wrest God's holy word and testament, a long season, from the spiritual and true meaning thereof, to his worldly and carnal affection, as pomp, glory, avarice, ambition, and tyranny, covering and shadowing the same with his human and crafty devices, traditions, and inventions, set forth under the cloak of virtue, only to promote and establish his dominion, as well both upon the souls and bodies, as also upon the temporal goods of all christian people, excluding

not only Christ out of his kingdom, and rule of man's soul, as much as they might, but also other temporal kings and princes out of their dominions, which they ought to have, by God's law, upon the bodies and goods of their subjects, whereby he did not only rob the king's majesty, being only the supreme head of the realm of England, and of this his land of Ireland, immediately under God, of his honour, right, and pre-eminence due unto him by the law of God, but also spoiled this his land of Ireland yearly, of innumerable treasure, and beside the losses of the same, deceived the king's loving and obedient subjects, persuading them by his laws, bulls, and other his deceivable means, such dreams, vanities, and phantasies, as by the same many of them were seduced and conveyed unto superstitious and erroneous opinions, so that the king's majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this his land, being overwearied and fatigued with the experience of the infinite abominations, and mischief proceeding of his impostures and crafty coloured deceits, to the great damages of souls, bodies, and goods, were forced of necessity, for the public weal of this land, to exclude that foreign pretended power, jurisdiction, and authority, used and usurped within this said land, and to devise such remedies for their relief in the same, as doth not only redound to the honour of God, the high praise and advancement of the king's majesty, and of this his land, but also to the great and inestimable utility of the same; which said good and wholesome laws, notwithstanding so made and heretofore established, it is come to the knowledge of the king's highness, and also to divers and many his loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, how that divers seditious and contentious persons, being imps of the said bishop of Rome, and of his see, and in heart members of his pretended monarchy, do in covers and elsewhere, as they dare, whisper, inculcate, preach and persuade, and, from time to time, instil into the ears and heads of the poor, simple, and unlearned people, the advancement and continuance of the said bishop's feigned and pretended authority, pretending the

same to have its' ground and original of God's law, whereby the opinions of many be suspended, their judgments corrupted and deceived, and diversity in opinions augmented and increased, to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the high discontent of our said most dread sovereign lord, and the interruption of the unity, charity, concord, and agreement, that ought to be in a christian region and congregation." As the enacting part of this statute is at some length, it will suffice to give here the substance of it. It is enacted, that if any person or persons shall by writing, cyphering, printing, preaching, or teaching, or by any deed or act, obstinately or maliciously hold, extol, set forth, maintain, or defend the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the bishop of Rome, or of his see, heretofore claimed, used, or usurped within this land, or, by any pretence, obstinately and maliciously attribute any manner of jurisdiction, authority, or pre-eminence, to the said see, or any bishop of Rome, they and their abettors, counsellors, &c., shall incur the pains of premunire, of the sixteenth of Richard the second.

To endeavour to counteract these measures, steps were taken, which I think it necessary to relate. Cromer sent two emissaries to Rome, to represent the danger of the church, and to entreat the interposition of the pontiff, in defence of his rights and interests in Ireland. A letter was written, in consequence, by the bishop of Mentz, in the name of the council of cardinals, to O'Nial, of Tyrone, viz.

"MY SON O'NIAL,

"Thou and thy fathers were ever faithful to the mother church of Rome. His holiness Paul, the present pope, and his council of holy fathers, have lately found an ancient prophecy of one Saint Lazarianus, an Irish archbishop of Cashel. It saith, that the church of Rome shall surely fall, when the catholic faith is once overthrown in Ireland. Therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own security, suppress heresy, and oppose the enemies of his holiness. You see that when the Roman faith perisheth in

Ireland, the see of Rome is fated to utter destruction.—The council of cardinals have therefore thought it necessary to animate the people of the holy island in this pious cause: being assured, that while the mother church hath sons of such worth as you and those who shall unite with you, she shall not fall, but prevail for ever, in some measure at least, in Britain. Having thus obeyed the order of the sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the protection of the Holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the host of heaven. Amen."

"The clergy flew through the whole northern province, harangued the Irish chieftains, inflamed their zeal, and conjured and commanded them to unite in the glorious cause of religion. A confederacy was thus quickly formed for the suppression of heresy: headed by O'Nial: who declared war against the invaders of the papal rights."

In the reign of Queen Mary, acts were passed, re-establishing the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction; repealing all acts made against the see of Rome, since the twentieth of Henry the eighth; restoring the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of archbishops, bishops, and ordinaries, for process of suits, punishment of crimes, and execution of censures of the church: reviving the statutes of fifth of Richard the second, second of Henry the fourth, and second of Henry the fifth, for the punishment of heresies.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1560, an act was passed, restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same. Ecclesiastical persons, and civil officers, refusing to take the oath of supremacy, forfeit offices and promotions, and are disabled from holding such during life. For maintaining and defending foreign authority, the penalty is made, for the first offence, forfeiture of goods and chattels, and the offender, if not worth twenty pounds, to suffer a year's imprisonment: if an ecclesiastical person, his benefice to be void: for the second offence, premunire: and for the third offence, high treason. Offenders by words only are to be prosecuted within half a year: and two witnesses

are necessary for conviction of offenders. Acts were also passed for uniformity of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments; and repealing the laws against heresy.

"The partisans of Rome inveighed against the heretical queen and her impious ministers. The ignorant were taught to abominate a government, which they heard consigned to all the terrors of divine vengeance; were exhorted to stand prepared for a glorious opportunity of asserting the cause of religion; and assured of effectual support, both from the pope, whose authority had been profaned, and from the king of Spain, now particularly offended at Elizabeth."

In 1573, "letters were intercepted from Rome, addressed to the Irish natives, wherein the bishop of Rome earnestly exhorted them to persevere in their opposition to the queen's government, with assurance of being supplied with money and troops, and promise of absolution to themselves and their posterity to the third generation."

In 1580, seven hundred Spaniards and Italians, with a large quantity of arms and ammunition, had landed in Ireland, and occupied a fort; which being attacked, they were summoned to surrender, by the queen's troops.—Their answer was—"That they were sent by the pope and the king of Spain, to extirpate heresy, and to reduce the land to the obedience of King Philip, who was by the holy father vested with the sovereignty of Ireland."

In 1587, another landing of five thousand four hundred men having been effected from Spain; the Irish received from them assurances of the king of Spain's zeal for "the catholic cause;" and of his protection and support; and were exhorted to persevere in their laudable disaffection to a heretical government.

In 1599, a letter signed by O'Nial, Desmond, Macarthy, More, and Dermod Macarthy, was despatched to Clement, bishop of Rome; in which they "prostrate themselves before 'the father of spirits upon earth,' imploring his compassionate relief for his spiritual sons, to enable them to subdue those who are enemies to their Sion, and oppose the building of the walls of their Jerusalem." In return,

a bull was issued, granting the same spiritual indulgences usually conferred on those who fought against the Turks, for recovery of the Holy Land.

In 1599, Doctor Leland relates, "that Carew, on entering upon his government, was justly alarmed at the representations made of the southern province. Beside the numbers engaged in open insurrection, he was assured, that the very cities abounded in disaffected persons; that popish ecclesiastics every where laboured to pervert the ignorant from their loyalty; and where the terror of their spiritual censures was not sufficient to drive the inhabitants into actual rebellion, it yet restrained them from giving any assistance to the royalists."

He relates farther on, that "Carew, having pursued the rebels with great havock, numbers of the most desperate relented at the prospect of desolation and famine; and these champions of the faith sued to Rome to be absolved from the sin of submitting to a heretical government, and to be permitted to continue in a temporal obedience to the state."

Again, "Oviedo, the Spanish archbishop of Dublin, and other factious ecclesiastics, had spread the intelligence of Spanish invasion through the disaffected quarters, and were indefatigable in animating and confirming the leaders of rebellion. From the pope they brought a flattering epistle to Prince O'Nial, commander of the catholic army, as he was styled, filled with benedictions on him and all his adherents, who had not bowed the knee to Baal, but strenuously contended for the faith."

Owen Mc. Eaggan, vicar apostolical of the southern provinces, excommunicated all who took arms in defence of heresy, and all who should shew mercy to those taken fighting on the side of the English government.

"The incessant diligence," says Doctor Leland, "of the emissaries of Rome, infused the poison of religious rancour with too great success, and propagated such doctrines in this reign, as must ever be abhorred and execrated. They saw numbers of the Romish communion act with firmness and vigour, in support of that government to which they had sworn allegiance. They saw numbers of their eccle-

siastics inculcating the doctrines of civil obedience and submission, and they were virulent in condemning, and industrious in counteracting such doctrines. They taught the people, that while they were unable to resist, the pope, indeed, allowed them to submit to an excommunicated princess, and a heretical government, so far as the exercise of this government did not affect the cause of their religion. But when the faith once required their assistance, it was impious and damnable not to cast off at once this mask of insidious submission; and when, by the pope's authority, an army of insurgents had arisen against the English power, not to unite in a cause so glorious, or to continue one moment on the side of government, was to renounce their eternal salvation. Bulls were produced, and spread through Ireland, to countenance these principles, which the moderate Romish clergy affirmed to be surreptitious. The decisions of the Spanish universities were procured to discredit this opposition. Valladolid and Salamancha denounced all the vengeance of the Almighty against those who should not unite with Tyrone: but the decree of their contemptible doctors arrived too late.—Tyrone had already submitted. A virulent popish party was thus formed in Ireland, which the vigour of Elizabeth's government, and the success of her arms, had kept within some restraints, but which were secretly animated by the emissaries of Rome. If the laws were executed against recusants, they inveighed against the horrid and unchristian persecution; if government indulged them with lenity and connivance, they derided its fears, and affected to despise the temporary policy."

In the reign of James the first, "the ecclesiastics taught their ignorant disciples, that he could not be a lawful king, who had not been established by the pope, and had not sworn to defend the catholic religion. Such were the effects of these pestilent insinuations, that several cities of Leinster, and almost all the cities of Munster, now conspired to avow their contempt of penal statutes, and to restore the Romish worship to its full splendour.—Disdaining to confine their devotions any longer to privacy and retirement, they ejected the reformed ministers from

their churches, they seized those religious houses which had been converted to civil uses, they erected their crosses, they celebrated their masses pompously and publicly, and their ecclesiastics were seen marching in procession, clothed in the habits of their respective orders. In Cork, the factious ecclesiastics were particularly numerous and turbulent. One of them had received, or pretended to have received, a legatine authority from Rome; and the citizens paid a ready obedience to his commission."

The popish clergy insolently arraigned the civil administration; presumptuously reviewed causes determined in the king's courts, and enjoined the people, as they tendered their salvation, to obey their decisions, not those of the law. A proclamation was in consequence published, commanding the popish clergy to quit the kingdom, unless they conformed to the laws of the land. A priest was brought to trial on the statute of premunire, sixteenth of Richard the second, to convince the Irish that the late declarations of the royal supremacy were but an assertion of the ancient constitutional rights of the crown.

The following is a quotation from a proclamation by King James, in 1607. "Under the condition of being made free from English government, they resolved to comprehend the utter extirpation of all those subjects that are now remaining alive within that kingdom, formerly descended from the English race. In which practices and propositions, followed and fomented by priests and Jesuits, (of whose function in these times, the practice and persuasion of subjects to rebel against their sovereigns, is one special and essential part and portion;) &c."

In 1612, at a general election, "agents were despatched from the pale into every province, to support the elections of their friends, and to entreat the assistance of every man of quality or interest, in this time of danger. The clergy preached the cause of religion, and denounced their excommunications on those who should presume to vote against the friends of the holy Roman church. To the vulgar Irish, they sometimes proceeded yet farther; they assured them that Tyrone was preparing to invade

the kingdom, encouraging them to stand firm to the faith, which would soon prove triumphant over all its enemies. The recusant lawyers practised with those of better condition. Promises, threats, and alarms, oaths of association, and all the devices of policy and faction, were employed to gain those who could be of service in the elections; and with such success, that most of the privy counsellors, who stood for knights of the shire, were rejected, for the most factious and turbulent lawyers, their competitors."

"It was discovered that an ecclesiastical hierarchy, with a regular subordination of orders, offices, and persons, was established throughout the kingdom by the papal power; their jurisdiction exercised with as much regularity, and their decrees executed with as much authority, as if the pope were actually in possession of the realm."

In the reign of Charles the first, 1626, a bull, by Urban the eighth, exhorted the Romanists, "rather to lose their lives than take the wicked and pestilent oath of supremacy, whereby the sceptre of the catholic church was wrested from the hand of the vicar of God Almighty: and "such senseless blasphemy," Doctor Leland says, "had its full effect upon their ignorance and superstition."

At this time of danger, the archbishop of Armagh, and several prelates, subscribed the following protestation. "The religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin; and that in two respects; for, first it is to make ourselves accessary not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and all the abominations of popery, but also, (which is a consequence of the former,) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the catholic apostacy. Secondly, to grant them a toleration, in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and, with it, the souls of the people whom Christ hath redeemed with his blood. And as it is

a great sin, so it is also a matter of most dangerous consequence: the consideration whereof we submit to the wise and judicious; beseeching the God of truth to make them who are in authority, zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute, and courageous, against all popery, superstition, and idolatry."

Such were the sentiments of these prelates then. The meaning, in this document, of the allusion to money, the curious reader will find in the cabinet proceedings of Charles the first, which to relate here, would be tedious, if not irrelevant. The positions contained in the first sentence, it would be totally foreign to my purpose to enter into; except barely to ask, of all professed protestants only, what do they suppose to be the meaning of protesting against the errors of the church of Rome? or, in other words, why do they call themselves protestants? Of that part which relates to toleration, it is unquestionable, that, among protestants, a great many conscientiously religious men, in those times of Charles, held, and, in the present times, hold, the very same opinions as these prelates; and it is also unquestionable, that a great many more, fully as conscientious, religious, and upright, have held, and do hold, the necessity of toleration; the word toleration being understood in its true etymological sense: while the remainder, comprising the ignorant of all ranks and orders,—"the great and little vulgar,"—are utterly incapable of forming any judgment on the matter. But this part of the question is now completely at rest; and the only determinate question which now remains, is, that which forms the title to this treatise. In Ireland, especially, since the relief bill of the year 1793, the subject of toleration cannot, by any tenable pretence, be complicated with this question. But that which defies erudition, confounds wisdom, and baffles common sense, is easily accomplished by the splendid flights of catholic genius, and the bright coruscations of catholic talents. However to be serious, no factious efforts, no Jesuitical arts, no contrivances in the fashionable science of misrepresentation, can alter the fact, that, at this present æra, toleration is, by those of

the Romish religion, fully enjoyed. This is secured as firmly as acts of parliament can secure it: any person or persons infringing which, are liable to punishment by law. But, the species of toleration, falsely so called, which factious demagogues have been contending for, is not toleration of religious worship, the legitimate meaning of the word, but Ascendancy, Command, the Government! "Perfect freedom of conscience," in the general meaning of catholic phraseology, means offices of state, and seats in parliament, untrammelled with any of those "degrading" qualifications, such as the oath of supremacy, which protestants, (poor easy blockheads!) consider a light and easy yoke; and which, if they even did not, they must, however, submit to before they can enter on the discharge of the duties of offices of state; which require honest and able men to fill them; and in the faithful discharge of which, (let all the speculatists, and "all the talents," in his majesty's protestant empire, say what they will to the contrary,) are included the conservation of the constitution in church and state, and the unequivocal and efficient support of the laws of the land; of which the primary and paramount are, the bill of rights, and the act of settlement; "by which," in the expressive language of the speaker of the house of commons, "the throne, the parliament, and the government of the country are made fundamentally protestant." "Perfect freedom of conscience," in the particular executive and ministerial phraseology of catholic law, supported and applauded by the legislative branch of "the cause of catholicity," is also, "*ulterior views:*" "*restoring Ireland to her rank among the nations!*"

> "What's liberty of conscience,
> I' th' natural and genuine sense?
> 'Tis to restore with more security,
> Rebellion to its ancient purity."
>
> BUTLER'S HUDIBRAS.

"Perfect freedom of conscience" is, in the prescriptive phraseology of catholic medicine, the all healing catholicon, the sovereign panacea, the infallible nostrum, which

renders smooth and flowery "the only road to eternal life;" namely, the putting down of the "*dangerous novelty;*" and the erection of the "glorious *oriflamme;*" to purge the "true faith" of "heresy," by clearing "the only road," of "heretics!" "Perfect freedom of conscience" is, lastly, in the authoritative phraseology of catholic divinity, "*spiritual obedience:*"—"*the extirpation of heresy, and the exaltation of the catholic church;*" with "the discipline" of which, it has been "published by authority,"—"*securities are incompatible:*" while, by another document, "published by authority" also, the proceedings of "catholic committees" and "catholic boards" have been approved of, and sanctioned. Thus law, physic, and divinity, have lent their sage counsel, and their invigorating aid, to the legislative delegates of the "columns of catholicity;" while these "collecting columns," "the emphatic people," have been excited, in aggregate meetings, under the pretence of (what would have been, at the best, but an improper and unjustifiable, because "tumultuous" method of,) petitioning.

Before I quit this digression from that part of the abstract which has led to it; I cannot refrain from noticing the remarkable coincidence of positive facts, since the passing of the relief bill of 1793, (some of which I shall briefly sketch in their due order of time,) with the predictions of the earl of Clare, Doctor Duigenan, and other contemporary and anterior statesmen, who anticipated the effects of a removal of the restraining laws, as affecting civil consequences merely, independent of, and separate from, any such arguments as those of the prelates of Armagh, &c., which I have quoted. Since the year 1793, offence and violence have made rapid and aggravated advances. The removal of all cause, or pretence of cause, by the act of that year, constitutes the peculiar aggravation of the subsequent proceedings.

The next remarkable and momentous event, in the reign of Charles the first, was the dreadful rebellion and horrid massacre in 1641. Numbers of priests had swarmed into

the kingdom from foreign seminaries, who, with the seculars, and regulars, had alike bound themselves by solemn oath, to defend the papacy against the whole world; to labour for the preservation of its power and privileges; to execute its mandates, and to persecute heretics. Their whole body acted in dangerous concert, under the direction of the bishop of Rome, and subject to the orders of the congregation *de propaganda fide*, lately erected at Rome. They were full fraught with those pestilent doctrines, which the moderate of their own communion profess to abominate; of the universal monarchy of the bishop of Rome, as well civil as spiritual; of his authority to excommunicate and depose princes, to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to dispense with every law of God and man; to sanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and essential difference of vice and virtue. With this, and other impious trumpery of schools and councils, they filled their superstitious votaries; "contrary," saith Walsh, the Irish Franciscan, "to the letter, sense, and design of the gospel, the writings of the apostles, and the commentaries of their successors; to the belief of the christian church for ten ages; and moreover, to the clearest dictates of nature." Popish emissaries held their consultations, and formed their schemes of insurrection on the continent: their ecclesiastical agents were poured into Ireland; and so unguarded was their zeal, that their motions were known. The English ministers soon perceived an unusual ferment among the Irish in foreign countries; they received secret intimations of some conspiracy now forming; they conveyed the intelligence to their court; and Vane, the secretary, was directed to acquaint the Irish lords justices, "that there had passed from Spain, and other parts, an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen, for England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers, under the pretext of raising levies for the king of Spain; and that it was whispered by the Irish friars in that kingdom, that a rebellion was shortly expected in Ireland, particularly in Connaught." The design was, the utter subversion of all the late establish

ments of property; restoring the native Irish to all they had lost by the rebellion of their ancestors, or the decisions of law; procuring an establishment for the Romish religion, with all the splendour and affluence of its hierarchy; and a settlement of the government in their own hands.

The council drew up a proclamation, notifying the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy formed by some evil affected papists, recommending to all good subjects to provide for defence, and to display their loyalty. But, in the distracted state in which England was then, and the consequent absence of all aid from thence, this measure was totally inadequate to prevent the atrocious mischief. The insurrection broke out with features of the most savage barbarity; while the protestants, surprised, were unable to defend themselves: for, previously, good understanding had appeared to exist among all persuasions. They had, for forty years, been connected together by the bonds of friendship, alliance, and consanguinity. Their intermarriages were frequent. Gossipred, fostering, tenancy, neighbourhood, and service, mutually passed between them; and there appeared a mutual assimilation of manners also.

The design had been framed by one Roger More, of expelling the English, and asserting the independency of Ireland. He secretly went to the different chieftains, and excited their discontent. He engaged Lord Macguire, Sir Phelim O'Neal, and others, in a conspiracy. They concerted, that Sir Phelim O'Neal should head the insurrection throughout the provinces, and attack the English settlements, on the same day that Lord Macguire, and Roger More, should surprise the castle of Dublin.—Cardinal Richlieu had made them a promise of succours from France; and many Irish officers in the Spanish service, promised to join them, when the insurrection should commence.

It was only at nine o'clock of the evening before the day of the insurrection, that the matter was discovered to the Irish government, by Owen O'Connolly, an Irishman, but a protestant. Roger More escaped, but

Macguire was taken; and Hugh Mac Mahon, one of the conspirators, being seized, discovered the project. The castle was saved from a surprise by the discovery; but the insurrection, headed by O'Neal, broke out with brutal ferocity in Ulster. The houses, cattle, and goods of the English, were first seized; while they, on the commencement of the violence, instead of assembling together for their mutual defence and protection, remained at home, in hopes of defending their property; by which they fell separately into the hands of their unrelenting murderers. A general massacre, extending to every age, sex, and condition, now took place; in which all ties and connexions were overlooked, and unsuspecting victims were butchered by the hands of those, with whom they were connected by the various relations of domestic life. All bonds of faith and friendship were broken. Irish landlords made a prey of their English tenants; Irish tenants and servants, a sacrifice of their English landlords and masters. One neighbour was murdered by another; and the very Irish children murdered the English. Irish ecclesiastics were seen encouraging the carnage. All the tortures which the most wanton cruelty could devise, were, with the most malicious and satanic ingenuity, resorted to. The buildings of the English protestants were burned or pulled down; and their owners, with their wives and children, consumed in those which were burned. Where numbers assembled to oppose the assassins, the treacherous and abandoned wretches, by treaties of capitulation, and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths, first obtained a surrender, and their arms; and then, with a degree of perfidy and depravity unparalleled in the annals of mankind, savagely butchered them. Others tempted the prisoners with the hopes of life, to embrue their hands in the blood of friends, brothers, or parents; which done, they gave them that death which they sought to shun by deserving it.

More, shocked at these enormities, flew to O'Neal's camp; but found, that his authority, which was sufficient to excite the Irish to rebellion, was too feeble to restrain their inhumanity. He abandoned "the cause," and

retired to Flanders. From Ulster, the flames of rebellion extended to the three other provinces; in which slaughter was frequent also, although the Irish, in these three provinces, affected to act with a moderation which was even more barbarous than their cruelty. They turned the English from their houses, stripped of their possessions, and even stark naked, stripped to the skin of their very clothes; in the midst of an unusually severe winter, deprived, and forbidden of, meat, drink, or raiment, miserably to perish. Sir John Temple, at that time master of the rolls in Ireland, and one of the privy council, who wrote a history of the rebellion soon after it, says, "there were, since the rebellion first broke out, unto the time of the cessation, made the 15th of September, 1643, which was not full two years after, above three hundred thousand British and protestants cruelly murdered in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the strictest conjecture and computation of those who seemed best to understand the numbers of English planted in Ireland." Of these three hundred thousand, Mr. Carte coincides with Sir William Petty, that the number actually massacred, during the heat of the rebellion, was thirty-seven thousand. For the particulars of the atrocities, which, however relevant, are too numerous and multifarious, and, being equally diabolical, admit not of selection, I must refer my readers to the histories of Sir William Temple, Doctor Warner, and Doctor Leland.

The lords and gentlemen of the pale, i. e. the English Romanists settled in Ireland, at first pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarities with which it was accompanied. They were supplied by the Irish government with arms, which they promised to employ in defence of the government; but which they turned afterwards against it. They chose Lord Gormanstone for their leader, and joining the old Irish, rivalled them in every art of cruelty towards the English protestants.

The popish lawyers had excited the populace, by an outcry of pretended grievances; and the popish clergy had been as industrious agents and ministers of destruc-

tion. From the chapels, they announced, previous to the rebellion, "a great design tending to the advancement of the catholic cause." And throughout, they denounced the protestants as "heretics, not to be suffered any longer to live among them;" pronounced that "it was no more sin to kill an Englishman than to kill a dog; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them." Again, that "the protestants were devils, and served the devil;—assuring them the killing of such was a meritorious act, and a rare preservative against the pains of purgatory!" But one of the most efficient baits held out to tempt and excite the common people, was the possessions of the protestants: and these ignorant and deluded dupes, to the hypocritical and infernal stratagems of their leaders, were also assured, "that a consultation was held for extirpating all of their communion from Ireland."

The Romish prelates and clergy, lords, and deputies chosen by the several counties and towns throughout Ireland, assembled at Kilkenny; regulated all their movements by the forms of a parliament; directed that all their confederates should be united by an oath of association; and the prelates and clergy denounced sentence of excommunication on all who should refuse to take it; on all neuters; against all who assisted the enemy; meaning thereby those who were entrusted with the powers of government, for the administration of the constitution, by the dispensation of the actual laws of the land; and against all who should invade the possessions of any catholic, or any Irish protestant, not adversary to their cause. The first sentence, in the preamble to the oath, is—"Whereas, it is requisite, that there should be an unanimous consent, and real union, between all the catholics of this realm—" The oath contains the following obligation: "that they would obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made, or to be made, by the supreme council of the confederate catholics of the kingdom; that they would not seek, directly or indirectly, any pardon or protection for any act to be done, touching the general cause; and that they would not accept or

submit unto any peace, made, or to be made, with the said confederate catholics, without the consent thereof." This oath having been taken by all the members of this convention; the prelates next enjoined all the priests to administer it to their parishioners, and to raise subscriptions among them.

Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Borlase, the lords justices, who had been acting for the earl of Leicester, the lord-lieutenant, then in England, in a letter to the king, observed that—"the assembly at Kilkenny had opposed the royal authority, by erecting a new system of government; and disclaimed it by their oath of association, and by addressing themselves to foreign powers."

A father of the congregation of the oratory, named Peter Scaramp, appeared in Kilkenny as legate from the bishop of Rome, and occupied a seat in the convention. He had brought supplies of money and ammunition to the rebels; letters from the "holy see," to the "supreme council," the "provincial generals," and the Romish prelates; and a bull from Urban the eighth, from which I give some extracts.

"Having taken into our serious consideration, the great zeal of the Irish towards the propagating of the catholic faith, and the piety of the catholic warriors in the several armies of that kingdom, (which was for that singular fervency in the true worship of God, and notable care had formerly in the like case, by the inhabitants thereof, for the maintenance and preservation of the same orthodox faith, called of old "the land of saints;") and having got certain notice how, in imitation of their godly and worthy ancestors, they endeavour by force of arms to deliver their thralled nation from the oppressions and grievous injuries of the heretics, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted and heavily burthened; and gallantly do in them what lieth to extirpate and totally root out those workers of iniquity, who, in the kingdom of Ireland, had infested, and are always striving to infest the mass of catholic purity, with the pestiferous leaven of their heretical contagion: we therefore being willing to cherish them with the gifts of those spiritual graces, whereof by

God we are ordained the only disposer on earth; by the mercy of the same Almighty God, trusting in the authority of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul; and by virtue of that power of binding and loosing of souls, which God was pleased (without our deserving) to confer on us: to all and every one of the faithful christians, &c."——— Here follows—"a full and plenary indulgence, and absolute remission of all their sins, such as in the holy time of *jubile*, to all the faithful in Christ now in arms as aforesaid."——Then follows–"power to priests to liberate and absolve them from excommunication, suspension, and all other ecclesiastical sentences and censures, by whomsoever, or for what cause soever pronounced or inflicted upon them; as also from all sins, trespasses, transgressions, crimes, and delinquencies, how heinous and atrocious soever they be, not omitting those very enormities designed to be reserved to the apostolic see."——&c. &c. "Dated at Rome, in the Vatican, or St. Peter's palace, the 25th of May, 1643; and in the 20th year of our pontificate."

The confederates wrote to the bishop of Rome, in 1644, stating—"that their religion was publicly practised according to theRomish ritual; that most of the bishops were in possession of the cathedrals, the priests of the parishes; and that many of the convents were restored to the monks."

On the proclamation of peace in Limerick, the chief magistrate attended the proclamation, but was suddenly attacked by a tumultuous crowd led on by some clergy, who wounded the mayor and the heralds, some of them mortally, imprisoned them for ten days, and received the thanks and benediction of the bishop of Rome's nuncio for this outrage. The nuncio, by his own authority, displaced those magistrates who had attempted to support the proclamation, and conferred the government of the city on a man who had been leader and conductor of the tumult. He convened his clergy at Waterford: they pronounced all who adhered to the peace, guilty of violating their oath of association; they excommunicated the commissioners, and all who had been instrumental in the treaty; they pronounced an interdict on all places

where the peace had been admitted; and they suspended all the clergy who preached in favour of it, and all confessors who absolved any adherents of the peace.

Cardinal Pamfilio wrote to the nuncio, "that the holy see never would, by any positive act, approve the civil allegiance which catholic subjects paid to a heretical prince." In another letter, he reminded him, "that it had been the uninterrupted practice of the see of Rome, never to allow her ministers to make, or consent to, public edicts, for the defence of the crown and person of a heretical prince."

The nuncio and clergy, at a general assembly at Kilkenny, demanded the full establishment of popery; the full possession of all churches and benefices throughout the kingdom; the repeal of the common law, so far as it gave the crown any ecclesiastical power; liberty to erect popish universities, to appoint provisions to all church dignities, and to exercise their ecclesiastical jurisdiction to its full extent; and they required a new oath for continuing the association until these points should be effectually obtained.

Notwithstanding the partial cessation from, and suppression of, general massacre and outrage, Ireland still continued to present a scene of the utmost confusion; from which it was not emancipated for more than ten years after the first breaking out of the rebellion in October, 1641. At length, in 1652, Oliver Cromwell headed the parliamentary army of England; to which he attached a strong re-inforcement; and, landing in Ireland, soon completely reduced the whole island. He next distributed the lands of those who had been killed, or who had been deprived of their possessions by force of arms, to new colonists, among whom were many of his victorious officers. Limits were assigned to the Irish, beyond which they were not to come; and these continued to be strictly enforced until the restoration of Charles the second. The protestant and English interests were now more completely established than at any former time; but though the Romanists had lost the power to injure, they retained their animosity.

Charles the 2d, on his restoration, confirmed Cromwell's grants by a declaration; and an act for the settlement of them was afterwards passed by the Irish parliament.

In 1661, the oaths of supremacy and allegiance were ordered to be taken by all members of parliament. By this was procured the first entirely protestant parliament that was known to sit in Ireland: a certain proof that this species of security is of much greater value than the veto, or any other security within the powers of discovery of human wisdom, or of human sophistry.

This same year, the house of commons addressed the lords justices, stating,

1st..The numerous assemblies of the Irish in several places, under colour of frequenting masses, and other pretended religious duties.

2d...The exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this kingdom, and under a foreign authority, compelling the appearance of great companies before them.

3d...The levying of great sums of money by the poll, by the pretended ecclesiastical jurisdiction, upon the inhabitants of this kingdom, contrary to law.

4th...The enjoining and observing of extraordinary fasts, which was that same course they took at the beginning of the rebellion.

5th...The forming and levying of companies in the respective counties of this kingdom.

6th...The contempt of the civil officers of his majesty, and the opposing of them in the execution of their offices, as particularly in Waterford, where the sheriff, endeavouring to preserve the peace, was by some of them abused, and his staff of office broken.

7th...The concourse of many armed men into this city, and the endeavours of the Irish to buy serviceable horses, arms, and ammunition.

8th...The return of the transplanted persons from Connaught, and returning of many of them in the county of Wicklow, and the fastness thereof, and in other places of this kingdom.

9th...The return of the Irish, into the cities and towns of this kingdom, and in all other places of strength,

10th...The great meetings and consultations of the Irish in this city, and such as have been active in the beginning of the rebellion, as in St. Thomas-street, and elsewhere.

The lords justices answered, that each head of these informations had great weight, but particularly, the levying men and money, buying horses, arms, and ammunition, and owning a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by keeping their ecclesiastical courts, and otherwise: and promised co-operation with them; and that all idle and suspicious persons should be removed from Dublin and its suburbs.

The latter end of this year, the commons acquainted the lord chancellor "of some Irish papists that of late had gotten themselves into the commissions of the peace within the province of Connaught;" whom they desired might be superseded, and none such hereafter appointed. The lord chancellor replied, that some of them "had surreptitiously gotten their names into the commissions of the peace for the province of Connaught," whom he had already, on hearing of it, superseded; and promised to do the like also, on all similar occasions.

Soon after, this year also, a message was sent from the lords to the commons; desiring their concurrence with the subjoined "proposals of both houses to the lords justices about the Irish, and for preserving the public peace:" which, being agreed to by the commons, were sent accordingly.

1st...That their lordships would be pleased to take a strict course for the prohibiting any persons to live in any of the cities, walled towns, or garrisons of this kingdom, who have been in the late rebellion, or lived in the Irish quarters, except such who are declared innocent, or otherwise excepted in his majesty's declaration; or such as their lordships shall license.

2nd...That, as priests, Jesuits, and friars, have been the constant incendiaries in the rebellion in this kingdom, therefore they, and those who have been the chief heads of the rebellion, together with other ill-affected persons, be secured, except such as their lordships shall think fit to dispense withal.

3d..That all transplanted persons, and not actually restored, who have come back to Connaught or Clare, be required to return thither, and not to come back from thence without license.

4th...That a strict inquiry be made concerning the priest who wrote the letter,* as also concerning the priest to whom it was written; and that the said letter, together with all other papers concerning it, be transmitted to his majesty, as the lords justices shall think fitting.

5th...That trained bands be established in the respective counties of this kingdom, and that they may consist only of such protestants as are well affected to the present government.

6th...That all serviceable horses, arms, and other habiliments of war, belonging to the Irish, or any disaffected persons of what judgment soever, be seized and secured, as their lordships shall think fitting.

7th...That, in regard Connaught and the county of Clare, where most of the Irish are, or supposed to be, are six large counties, their lordships will think of some way of securing the same by some additional forces.

8th...That their lordships will be pleased to take care for the speedy purging of the army of papists and other disaffected persons, if any such be there.

The lords justices, by proclamation, issued directions, and ordered measures in co-operation with these proposals.

From this time, I find nothing sufficiently material to my subject, until the reign of James the second.

The movements of James's administration in Ireland, immediately on succeeding his brother Charles, were decisive and uncompromising; and plainly displayed his design of erecting absolute power on the basis of popery. The first step was an order by James to disarm the protestant militia; and to substitute a popish militia. This done, the protestants became immediately a prey to robberies, extensive and systematic, unrestrained and unpunished. The most violent popish bigots were admitted into all offices of trust without taking the oath of supremacy; which Lord Clarendon represented in vain to

* A treasonable letter written by one priest to another.

James as contrary to law. Sir Alexander Fitton, a man convicted of forgery, was made lord chancellor; having purified himself in the king's eyes by conforming to popery: Nagle, a popish lawyer, attorney general: Nugent and Rice, Irish papists, were made chief judges: the other judicial situations were filled with papists also: and all these, together with some popish lawyers, were admitted into the privy council. Papists were admitted to the freedom of corporations; and the offices of mayors, sheriffs, and justices of the peace, were all filled by them. And, at last, the sword of state was given to the violent and cruel popish bigot, Tyrconnel! *Quo warranto's*, as in England, were issued against such corporations as would not voluntarily surrender; and they were dissolved by the unconstitutional decisions of the popish judges; and others erected fitter for the king's purposes. The insolence and barbarities of the popish officers were intolerable. And, to complete the scene of profligacy, a number of informers, by the most horrid perjuries, endeavoured to destroy their protestant neighbours by form of law; to wit, by swearing informations of treason against all not friendly to their cause; who presumed to look for rent due; or who did not tamely bend to the most supercilious pride and the most outrageous violence. To give some colour to these enormities, the old trick which had been successfully resorted to, to forward the rebellion in 1641, and which has been, on recent occasions in our own times, again resorted to, namely, giving out that a conspiracy was formed by the protestants to cut off Romanists, was at this time practised.

The brutality of sheriffs, the perversion of courts of justice, the military barbarities, the unrestrained robberies, wanton murders, and contempt of law, excited loud and general complaints. Outlawries were daily reversed; the sons of rebels and murderers advanced; with menial servants, who insulted their former masters. Indigent men, newly raised to station, forced goods on credit from tradesmen, who trembled at their brutal arrogance. A total decay of trade hence ensued. The credit and resources of merchants and traders were destroyed, and

numbers reduced to beggary, or driven to other countries for subsistence. Tyrconnel caused the protestants who were dismissed from the army, to be stripped of their regimentals, and turned out into the streets to perish, where the barbarous popish banditti were let loose to destroy them.

A letter addressed by an unknown person to Lord Mount Alexander, in the county of Down, warned him of a general massacre intended by the Irish. It circumstantially pointed out the precise time when the bloody design was to be executed, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. The same intelligence was conveyed to some other gentlemen in the northern province. These informations were confirmed, by popish priests having announced to their congregations what they called—"a secret intention," and enjoined them to stand ready armed to obey their orders. This excited general alarm. In the northern counties, where the protestants were most numerous, they collected the arms still left among them, resolved to defend themselves, and resist the intolerable tyranny which threatened their destruction. Derry afforded principal shelter to the fugitive protestants.

The share which was dealt out to Trinity College, Dublin, of the general despotism, claims a place here. The king's mandate was issued for the admission of one Green, a Romanist, to a professorship of the Irish language. No such establishment had ever been made. Green was therefore disappointed. The king next directed, that one Doyle should be admitted to a fellowship, without taking any oaths, but the oath of a fellow. He was illiterate and profligate, but had conformed to popery. But here, the ignorance of his patrons defeated their purpose. The oath of a fellow included in it the oath of supremacy, and this Doyle refused to take. The popish judges directed him to procure a second letter from the king; but his character was proved to be so infamous, that his friends were ashamed to make any farther effort in his favour. Tyrconnel, exasperated, stopped the pension annually paid to the university from the exchequer!

After James's arrival in Ireland, a *mandamus* was presented to the governors of the university, in favour of

the before-mentioned Green, whom he commanded them to appoint senior fellow. The governors were firm, and pleaded their own cause before Nagle, the attorney-general. They urged the incapacity of Green, and the false allegations of his petition. "But," said they, "there are many important reasons, drawn as well from the statutes relating to religion, as from the obligation of oaths we have taken, and the interest of our religion, (which we will never desert,) that render it wholly impossible for us, without violating our consciences, to have any concurrence, or to be any way concerned in the admission of him." In a few days, fellows and scholars were forcibly ejected by the king's popish soldiers; the communion plate, library, furniture of the community, and individual property of the members, were all seized; their chapel was converted into a magazine, and their chambers into prisons. The members of the society obtained their personal liberty only by the intercession of the bishop of Meath; and this, on the express condition, that three of them should not meet together, on pain of death. Father Petre, James's confessor, is said to have possessed James with the design of conferring this college on the Jesuits. In the mean time, one Moore, a popish ecclesiastic, was nominated provost; a man of liberal sentiments, and a lover of letters; who, with the assistance of M'Carthy, another of his own order, preserved the library, books, and manuscripts, from the ravages of a barbarous enemy.

In 1689, Rosen, a French general, who was sent to command the siege of Derry, where a considerable number of the protestants had fortified themselves, thundered out dreadful menaces against them. This, by convincing them that no mercy was to be expected, confirmed their resolution. He declared, that "if the town were not surrendered by the 1st of July, all of their faction through the whole country, to Ballishannon, Charlemont, Belfast, Innisowen, protected and unprotected alike, should be given up to plunder, and driven under their walls, there to perish, unless relieved by a surrender of the town." The appointed day arrived, but

the garrison continued their defence. The next morning, a confused multitude were seen hurrying towards the walls. At a distance, they were mistaken for enemies; the garrison fired on them, but happily without any damage to the thousands of miserable protestants of all ages and conditions, old, young, women, infants, goaded on by soldiers, whose ears were tortured with their shrieks, and who executed their hideous orders with tears. The afflicting spectacle transported the garrison to fury. Numbers of the wretched sufferers, thus driven to perish beneath their walls, conjured them, with bended knees, and lifted hands, by no means to consider their distress, but to defend their lives bravely against an enemy, who sought to involve them all in one common slaughter. A gallows was now erected in view of the besiegers; they were assured, that all the prisoners taken by the garrison should be instantly executed, unless their friends were allowed to depart. Confessors were even admitted to prepare them for death, but Rosen was still unmoved. Happily the intelligence flew to Dublin. The protestant bishop of Meath remonstrated with James, who had in March, this year, arrived in Ireland from France, with some French officers. James answered, that he had already ordered these captives to be released, observing, that such severities were usual in foreign service, however shocking to his subjects. Those who survived a confinement of almost three days, without sustenance or shelter, were permitted to return to their habitations, where the ravages of the soldiery had left them no means of comfort. Some of their ablest men were stolen into the town; and five hundred useless people crowded among them, and passed undiscovered, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy.

The same year, a bill was passed for repealing the act of settlement, with a preamble which exculpated the Irish from rebelling in 1641; and a clause, whereby the real estates of all those who dwelt in any of the three kingdoms, and did not acknowledge King James's power, or who aided or corresponded with those who rebelled against him, since the 1st of August, 1688, were declared

to be forfeited, and vested in the king. Thus, by a strain of severity at once ridiculous and detestable, almost every protestant of Ireland who could write, was to be deprived of his estate.

An act was also passed, by which a number of persons in the service of the prince of Orange; those who had retired from the kingdom, and did not return in obedience to the king's proclamation; numbers who were resident in Britain, and therefore presumed to be adherents of the new government; were all attainted of high treason, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture, unless they surrendered within certain periods assigned. It was provided, that the estates of those who were detained abroad by sickness, or non-age, should be seized by the king; and, in defiance of justice and humanity, they were to prove their own innocence, before they could be restored. Two thousand six hundred and forty-one persons, of all orders and conditions, peers, peeresses, prelates, baronets, knights, clergy, gentry, and yeomanry, were included in this dreadful sentence. Their names were hastily collected by their respective neighbours, and received with so much ease and precipitation, that Nagle, on presenting the bill to James, declared, "that many were attainted on such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest on common fame." It was so framed, as to preclude the king from the power of pardoning, after the 1st of November, 1689. In the mean time, a statute which affected the lives and properties of so many thousands, was cautiously concealed from them, and lay unknown in the custody of the chancellor. At length, when four months had elapsed, from the day limited for pardoning, Sir Thomas Southwell obtained a view of this fatal act, for the instruction of his lawyer, who was to draw a warrant for his pardon, which James had promised. Nagle was surprised and enraged at the discovery. After some evasions, he insisted, that the king was merely a trustee for the forfeitures, and had now no power of pardoning Southwell. Nothing remained for James, but to reproach his attorney-general for having framed an act intrenching on his prerogative.

James, wanting resources, chose one, in defiance of law, reason, and humanity, which has rendered his name horrible to Irish protestants. By seizing the tools and engines of one Moore, who, by virtue of a patent from the late king, enjoyed the right of a copper coinage in Ireland, he established a mint in Dublin and Limerick. Brass and copper of the basest kind, old cannon, broken bells, and household utensils, were assiduously collected; and from every pound weight of such vile materials, valued at four pence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value. By the first proclamation, they were made current in all payments to and from the king and the subjects of the realm, except in the duties on importation of foreign goods, money left in trust, or due by mortgages, bills, or bonds; and James promised that when this money should be decried, he would receive it in all payments, or make full satisfaction in gold and silver. His soldiers were paid in this coin, and it was poured on the protestant traders. The nominal value was raised by subsequent proclamations; the original restrictions were removed, and this base money was ordered to be received in all kinds of payments. As brass and copper grew scarce, it was made of tin and pewter, and obtruded on protestants with many circumstances of cruelty and insolence. Old debts of one thousand pounds were discharged by pieces of base metal, amounting to thirty shillings in intrinsic value. Attempts were made to purchase gold and silver at immoderate rates, with this money, but this was quickly forbidden, on pain of death; and when the protestants attempted to disburthen themselves of this coin, by purchasing the staple commodities of the kingdom, James, by proclamation, set a rate on these commodities, demanded them at this rate, returned his brass on the proprietors, and, with all the meanness of a trader, exported them to France. It appeared, indeed, in the end, that James was the only gainer by this iniquitous project; and that, in the final course of circulation, his own party became possessed of the greatest part of this adulterate coin, just when William had power to suppress it by proclamation. Yet certain it is, that during that

melancholy interval, in which the popish party was predominant, protestants felt all the distresses arising from a state of war and disorder, aggravated by the wanton insolence of their adversaries. If they attempted to purchase corn or other provisions with the brass coin, they were instantly seized for the king's use, and the proprietors imprisoned, as men who intended to supply the enemy. "We were at a loss," saith Archbishop King, "to know what the meaning of taking away corn from protestant farmers, housekeepers, and bakers, should be, when there was no scarcity in the kingdom. But Sir Robert Parker, and some others, blabbed it out in the coffee-house, that they designed to starve half the protestants, and hang the other, and it would never be well until this were done. We were sensible that they were in earnest by the event; for no protestant could get a bit of bread, and hardly a drop of drink in the whole city of Dublin. Twenty or thirty soldiers stood constantly about every bakehouse, and would not suffer a protestant to come nigh them."

In the mean time, the popish clergy, with the assistance of the popish magistrates, seized churches for their own use, not only in the counties, but in the capital. The protestants remonstrated to James. He acknowledged his promise of protecting them, and published a proclamation against these outrages. But the clergy and their votaries disdained obedience to any orders repugnant to the interests of the faith. A contest arose between James and the priests, and he had the mortification of finding himself defeated. The churches were retained; and whatever impotent resentment he expressed at this insolence, yet he still resigned himself servilely to his clergy, and employed all his attention to make Ireland what he called "a catholic kingdom." An order was issued in the name of his governor of Dublin, that no more than five protestants should meet together, even in churches, on pain of death. He filled the diocese of Meath with popish incumbents, erected a Benedictine nunnery in Dublin, and converted a school, erected in Kilkenny by the duke of Ormond, into a popish seminary, by a new charter.

Not only in the north, generally, beside those who had fortified Derry, but every where else in the kingdom, the protestants now rose in parties, declaring their resolution to unite in self defence, to preserve the protestant religion, to continue their dependance on England, and to promote the meeting of a free parliament. Ten thousand men arrived to their assistance the 12th of August, 1689. From this time, the war proceeded with various success, until William's arrival in Ireland, the 14th of June, 1690, with a larger army. The whole army then amounted to thirty-six thousand men. The battle of the Boyne was fought the 1st of July. William was victorious: after which, James deserted his troops, took ship at Waterford, and fled to France. St. Ruth, one of the French officers, was appointed by James to the command. William, whose affairs called him back to England, appointed General Ginckle commander. The battle of Aughrim was fought the 12th of July, 1691, in which St. Ruth was killed, and a decisive victory obtained. Such of the Irish as escaped in this battle, retreated to Limerick, where they made their final stand. Previous to the battle of Aughrim, St. Ruth, in his address to the Irish officers, reminded them, "that their future fortune depended on the issue of one encounter; that they were now to fight for their honours, their liberties, and their estates; that they were now to establish their religion on such a firm basis, as the powers of hell and heresy should never shake; that the dearest interests and most honourable engagements of this life, and the ravishing prospects of eternal happiness, called for a vigorous exertion of valour." The priests ran through the ranks, labouring to inspire the soldiers with the same sentiments.

After these two successive victories, the various towns and forts began to yield. Wexford had already declared for King William, and now received his garrison. Clonmel was abandoned by the Irish. Waterford was summoned; the garrison, after some hesitation, demanded the enjoyment of their estates, the freedom of their religion, and liberty to march out with arms and baggage. This last article only was omitted. They accepted the

terms, and surrendered. Duncannon surrendered on the same conditions. On the surrender of Cork, the garrison consented to become prisoners of war, with the officers, of whom several were of considerable note. The protestant prisoners were set at liberty; the protestant magistrates resumed their offices, and proclaimed the king and queen. All papists were ordered, on pain of death, to surrender their arms; a precaution absolutely necessary, as there were more than five thousand prisoners in the town. Kinsale was allowed conditions more favourable than those granted to Cork: the garrison marched out with arms and baggage, and were conducted to Limerick. The fort of Ballymore was reduced: the garrison cried for mercy, and were admitted prisoners of war. Athlone was reduced: the governor of the castle, and 500 men, were made prisoners of war. In the treaty of capitulation with Galway, Ginckle resolved to grant such conditions, as might convince the whole Irish party of the infatuation of their perseverance in a desperate cause, and dispose them to an immediate submission. The garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Limerick; with liberty to those who desired it, to continue in the town, or to repair to their respective habitations. A free pardon was granted to the governor, magistrates, freemen, and inhabitants, with full possession of their estates and liberties, under the acts of settlement and explanation. The Romish clergy and laity were allowed the private exercise of their religion; their lawyers to practise; and their estated gentlemen to bear arms. These terms had their effect: several parties daily revolted from the Irish.

At length, the time arrived for a surrender of the last hold, Limerick. The Irish leaders, after a six weeks siege, offered their terms of capitulation; by which, they wanted to have included the whole body of their party. They required an act of indemnity for all past offences, with a full enjoyment of the estates they possessed before the present revolution; freedom for the Romish worship, with an establishment of one Romish ecclesiastic in each parish. They demanded, that

Romanists should be declared fully qualified for every office, civil and military; that they should be admitted into all corporations; and that the Irish army should be kept up, and paid in the same manner with the king's other troops, provided they be willing to serve. Ginckle replied, that stranger as he was to the laws of England, yet he understood that such demands were equally inconsistent with these laws, and with his own honour. In return for some English prisoners, he ordered those of the Irish to be restored, but not in the same condition; for they had been treated with humanity, and their sick and wounded carefully attended. He now gave orders for new batteries, resolved to continue the siege.

He was desired to propose such terms as he could grant. He consented that all Romanists should enjoy the exercise of their religion, as in the reign of Charles the second; and promised, that their majesties would endeavour to procure them farther security in this particular, when a parliament could be convened. He engaged, that all included in the capitulation, should enjoy their estates, and pursue their callings and professions freely, as in the reign of Charles the second; that their gentry should be allowed the use of arms; and that no oath should be required of any, except the oath of allegiance. Should it be disagreeable to any of their party to reside in Ireland on these conditions, or should their army chuse to engage in any foreign service, he consented that all those of every quality, who wished to retire with their families and effects, should have free liberty, and be conveyed to the Continent at the expense of government. Oblivion as to all actions for trespasses, was also granted. Such liberal terms were mortifying to those Irish who had already submitted on less favourable terms.

Fourteen thousand of those who had fought for James, went to France, having transports provided by government for conveying them.

Thus, in 1691, was the last scene concluded of that glorious revolution, which will be ever memorable to all true lovers of legal and constitutional liberty; and which had assumed a more exalted character in England, where

it was effected, more than two years before this period, without bloodshed.

In 1692, was passed "an act of recognition of William and Mary's undoubted title to the crown:" And the parliament settled, that Romanists should not have admission into the army; or, during the war with France, have possession of boats.

In 1695, it was found necessary, in consequence of the multiplicity of depredations and aggressions on protestants, plainly displaying a system of plunder and violence, to pass two acts of parliament, viz.:—"An act for the better suppressing of tories, robbers, and rapparees, and their receivers and harbourers, and for preventing robberies, burglaries, and other heinous crimes;" and "an act for the better securing the government, by disarming papists." All grants of forfeited estates were made subject to the condition, that they should be planted with protestants; and all those concerned in the rebellion were attainted, except those who were included in any articles or agreement, or had been pardoned. "An act to restrain foreign education," was also passed. By a clause in this act, no papist was allowed to teach school publicly, or in private houses, except children of the family. Penalty 20l. and three months imprisonment.

In 1696, an association was entered into, in consequence of the conspiracy which I have related in the English abstract, as follows:—"Whereas there has been a horrible and detestable conspiracy for assassinating his majesty's most sacred person, and invading his kingdoms with French forces, contrived and carried on by the late King James and his adherents, to subvert our religion, laws, and liberties; we, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, in parliament assembled, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly profess, testify, and declare, that his majesty King William was, and is, rightful and lawful king of England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and we do mutually promise and engage to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost

of our power, in the support and defence of his majesty's most sacred person, title, and government, against the late King James, the pretended prince of Wales, and all their adherents, and against all other persons whatsoever; and in case his majesty come by an untimely death, which God forbid, we do hereby farther freely and unanimously oblige ourselves to unite, associate, and stand by each other, in revenging the same upon his enemies and their adherents, and in supporting and defending the succession to the crown, according to an act made in England, in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, entitled, an act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown." It was ordered, that each member of parliament should sign this, or declare his refusal; and some members were expelled for refusal. It was ordered to be signed also by all persons filling offices.

In 1697, the three following acts were passed: "An act to prevent protestants from intermarrying with papists:" "An act for banishing all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the popish clergy out of the kingdom:" and "an act for the confirmation of articles made at the surrender of the city of Limerick."

On the 25th of November, this year, a paper was delivered into the house of commons, by Sir Henry Bingham, a member, written by Colonel John Browne, and found among the papers of one Tyrrell, a titular popish bishop, and secretary to the late King James, containing a scheme and proposal for the utter extirpation of the protestants, and protestant religion, in this kingdom, and other matters of dangerous consequence. In consequence of this information, the commons, on the 29th of November, came to the following resolutions, *nemine contradicente*:

1st...That ever since the reformation, but more particularly during the reign of the late King James, the papists in this kingdom, by their frequent conspiracies, inhuman massacres, and open rebellions, have endeavoured to extirpate, and entirely subvert the protestant religion and interest in this kingdom.

2d...That the papists of this kingdom do still retain the same inclinations and resolution of extirpating the protestant religion and interest in the kingdom, and of severing the same from the imperial crown of England.

3d...That other laws than what we now have, are absolutely necessary for the preservation of his majesty's royal person, and the better securing of this kingdom to England, and the protestant religion and interest here.

4th...That the safety of this kingdom doth, next under God, depend on his majesty's life, and that therefore a law for a general association of protestants in this kingdom, for preservation of his royal person and government, is necessary.

5th...That the continuance of all commissions, civil and military, after the demise of his present majesty, for six months, unless superseded by the next successor, according to the limitation of an act passed in England, entitled, an act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown, is fit to be made a law in this kingdom.

6th...That the excluding of papists from having votes for electing any members to serve in parliament in this kingdom, is necessary to be made into a law.

7th...That it is absolutely necessary, that some farther security than the oath of fidelity, be required from his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; and particularly a declaration, that neither the late King James, or the pretended prince of Wales, nor any of them, have, or ought to have, any right or title to the imperial crown of England.

8th...That such declaration be an oath, and subscribed by the parties so swearing.

9th...That some farther oath than what is required by law, renouncing the papal authority in this kingdom, is necessary for the securing of the peace and quiet thereof.

10th...That it is necessary to be made a law, that the preaching, writing, or otherwise asserting, that King William is not rightful or lawful king of these realms, be high treason.

On the 1st of December, this same year, the house of commons proceeded to take into consideration the report from a committee appointed to consider, what penal laws are in force in this kingdom against papists, which was agreed to by the house, and is as follows :—"An act against the authority of the bishop of Rome. It enacts, that no person, by any act, deed, or word, shall maintain or defend, or attribute any manner of jurisdiction, authority, or pre-eminence to the see of Rome, within this kingdom; the person so offending, his aiders, assisters, abettors, concealers, procurers, comforters, fautors, and counsellors, being thereof convict, according to the laws of this land, shall incur the pains, penalties, and forfeitures of the statute of premunire, made sixteenth of Richard the second. All that have any office, fee, or room of the king's gift, or are retained in the king's service, every person at the entering into orders, or taking any degree in the university, at the time of his preferment or promotion, shall take the oath of supremacy; and if he obstinately refuse to do so, then such contempt and offence shall be high treason."

"An act, restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same, enacts, that every archbishop, bishop, and every other ecclesiastical person, officer, or minister, of whatsoever degree or mystery, and every temporal judge, justice, mayor, and other lay and temporal officer and minister, and every other person having the king's fee or wages within this kingdom, shall take the oath of supremacy, upon pain of forfeiting the office, and being disabled from holding or exercising any office, or other promotion. If any, by writing, printing, preaching, express words, deed, or act, affirm, maintain, or defend the authority, pre-eminence, power, or jurisdiction, spiritual or ecclesiastical, of any foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate whatsoever, heretofore claimed, used, or assumed within this realm, the person so offending, by aiders, assisters, abettors, and counsellors, shall, for his first offence, forfeit all his goods and chattels, real and personal; and

if the said goods, &c. be not worth 20l. then, besides, one whole year's imprisonment; the second offence, premunire; the third, high treason. The offences to be prosecuted within half a year."

"An act for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and the administration of the sacraments, enacts, that if any person whatsoever shall say any thing in depravation or derogation of the book of common prayer, or any thing therein contained, or shall procure, or cause to say or sing any common or open prayer, or to minister any sacrament, otherwise, or in any other manner or form, than is mentioned in the said book of common prayer, shall forfeit, for the first offence, one hundred marks; for the second offence, four hundred marks; for the third offence, all his goods and chattels, and imprisonment during life; and if, on conviction for the first offence, the party do not pay the fine within six weeks, then he shall, instead thereof, suffer twelve months imprisonment." Here follows a provision for compelling attendance at church on Sundays.

"An act for taking away the court of wards and liveries, and tenures *in capite*, and knights' service, enacts, that the chancellor, two chief justices, chief baron, master of the rolls, and chancellor of the exchequer, or any three or more of them, may commit the wardship of the heir, under age, of any one not dying in the communion of the church of England, on an inquisition found thereof, and returned into chancery, where such heir should have been in ward, to the next of kin of the communion of the church of England, who shall enter into recognizance to bring up such heir in the protestant religion; and shall thereupon take upon them the management of all the estate, real and personal, belonging to the said heir, and may have an action of trespass or ravishment of ward against any person that shall wrongfully take away the said heir, and recover damages to the use of such heir."

"An act for the uniformity of public prayers and administration of sacraments, &c., enacts, that no schoolmaster, or other person instructing or teaching youth in any private house or family, as a tutor or schoolmaster,

shall teach or instruct, &c., without license obtained from the ordinary of the diocese, and without taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribing a declaration that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king, and that he will conform to the liturgy of the church of England, as it is now by law established, upon pain of forfeiting, for the first offence, three months imprisonment; for the second, and every other such offence, three months imprisonment, and the sum of five pounds to his majesty."

"By the new rules made by the lord-lieutenant and council, in pursuance and by virtue of the acts of settlement and explanation, it is provided, that no person shall be capable of acting as either mayor, bailiff, sovereign, portrieve, burgo-master, recorder, sheriff, treasurer, alderman, town-clerk, burgess, or one of the common council, or any magistrate, or such the like officer, within any city, walled town, or corporation within this kingdom, or master or wardens of any corporation, guild, or fraternity within this kingdom, until he shall have taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, unless dispensed* with by the chief governor of this kingdom."

"An act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths."

"And the several acts made in this kingdom this present session of parliament."

In 1698, an act was passed "to prevent papists from being solicitors."

In the reign of Queen Anne, 1703, an act was passed to prevent the farther growth of popery; of which I shall give some of the principal heads.

The preamble states, that divers emissaries of the church of Rome, popish priests, &c., taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance, sickness or decay of their reason, of some of her majesty's subjects, in the absence of friends and spiritual guides, do pervert them from the protestant religion; and in farther manifestation of their

* This power of dispensation to the chief governor, was, by a subsequent act of parliament, taken away.

hatred and aversion to the true religion, many Romanists have refused to make provision for their own children, being protestants; and have contrived to elude the act preventing protestants intermarrying with papists. It farther states, the power of raising divisions among protestants, by papists voting in elections for members of parliament.

It enacts, that if any person shall pervert another, professing, or that shall profess, the protestant religion, and reconcile such person to popery, the seducer, and the seduced, shall both, for the first offence, incur the penalty of premunire.

If any papists shall send, cause, or willingly suffer to be sent, any child under twenty-one years old, into any foreign parts, they shall incur the penalties of an act, seventh of William, to restrain foreign education.

If any popish parent shall refuse to allow his protestant children a suitable maintenance, it may be compelled by the court of chancery.

Protestants intermarrying with papists, either in or out of the kingdom, made liable to the penalties of an act, ninth of William, to prevent such marriages.

Papists disabled from purchasing manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in their own names, or by any other persons for them, or any rents or profits out of the same, or any leases or terms thereof, for any term exceeding thirty-one years.

Estates of papists to go among their children, as in gavel kind; except where the next heirs be protestants.

Limerick and Galway being considerable garrison towns, papists, except those already residing, by virtue of articles, shall not take houses or tenements after the 24th of March, 1703.

Papists not to vote at elections for members of parliament, except they previously take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, at the quarter sessions, and produce a certificate thereof.

The power taken from chief governors and the privy council, of granting licenses to papists to keep arms, beside those who have the benefit of the articles of Limerick.

Where protestants shall hold any right of patronage or presentation to any ecclesiastical benefices, in trust for papists, every such shall be vested in the crown.

Riotous and unlawful meetings of many thousands of papists having taken place, on pretence of the sanctity of wells, &c., such meetings are declared riots and unlawful assemblies, and punishable as such.

Magistrates required to demolish crosses, pictures, and inscriptions that occasion popish superstition.

An act was also passed in 1703, making it high treason in this kingdom to impeach the succession of the crown, as limited by several acts of parliament.

In 1707, the commons made application to have justices of peace dismissed who turned papists in James's time; and they resolved at the same time, *nemine contradicente*, "that all popish priests within this kingdom, are obliged to take the oath of abjuration, by the laws in force in this kingdom; and all such priests refusing or neglecting to take the same, ought to be prosecuted for such refusal or neglect:" and "that it is the indispensable duty of all judges and magistrates to put the said laws in execution against popish priests."

In 1707, an act was passed, "to explain and amend an act to prevent papists being solicitors:" a clause in which disabled them from serving on grand juries, unless sufficient protestants could not be had: and on petty juries, in trials on any statute for security of the protestant interest, the plaintiff may challenge a papist, which shall be allowed.

In 1709, an address was presented by the commons to the viceroy, in which are the following expressions:— "We have found by dear bought and fatal experience, that the protestant religion and British interest in this kingdom, are no longer safe than while it is not in the power of papists to distress or destroy them; and with abhorrence call to mind the satisfaction, which too visibly appeared in the faces, and by the insolent behaviour of the generality of them, when the late attempt was made by the Pretender on the north part of Great Britain. To preserve ourselves against danger from those enemies of our peace, we shall consider of such farther laws as shall

be necessary for our own security; and not be amused by those, who, for other ends than the support of her majesty's government, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line, endeavour to represent them as neither inclined nor able to do us harm." This address contains encomiums on the loyalty and courage of the protestant dissenters, and declares it conducive to the common safety, to give them, who abjure the Pretender, and act faithfully to the government, every indulgence and encouragement in their religious worship.

The same year, an act was passed, to explain and amend the act to prevent the farther growth of popery. Two or more justices of peace were authorized, by warrant under their hands and seals, directed to any constable, &c., to summon any man sixteen years old, or upwards, to appear before them, and take and subscribe the oath of abjuration; who, not appearing, or refusing to take and subscribe the oath, shall be committed to the common gaol for three months, or until he shall take the oath, unless he pay forty shillings to the poor; and be for ever incapable of keeping arms. Three months after such default or refusal, the offender may be again summoned; and, on default, committed for six months, unless he pay ten pounds: and to be bound, with two sufficient sureties, to appear at the next assizes, or quarter sessions in Dublin, at which the oath shall be tendered by the judges; and if he shall refuse to take and subscribe it, he shall incur the penalties of premunire.

From the viceroy's speech, at the close of this session, I extract the following sentences. "I make no doubt but that you understand too well the true interest of the protestant religion in this kingdom, not to endeavour to make all such protestants as easy as you can, who are willing to contribute to defend the whole against the common enemy. It is not the law now passed, nor any law that the wit of man can frame, will secure you against popery, while you continue divided among yourselves; it being demonstrable that unless there be a firm friendship and confidence among the protestants of this kingdom, it is impossible for you either to be happy or to be safe."

Having briefly compressed all that I conceive material to my subject, of the former part of Queen Anne's reign, I shall now give a very close abridgment of a few of the most material of those movements which develope the character of "the last four years."

Edward Lloyd, printer of a treasonable publication in favour of the Pretender, entitled, "The memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George," was indicted for the same, and the bill of indictment found, in November 1712. Michael Harbourn, sheriff of Dublin, received a letter from James Tisdall, clerk of the crown of the queen's bench, to stop process against Lloyd, in May 1713. For this, Tisdall had the following warrant from Lord Chief Justice Cox:

"SIR,

The prosecution of Edward Lloyd being under the consideration of the lords justices and council, you are to forbear to issue process against him until farther orders.

29th May, 1713. RICHARD COX."

"TO THE CLERK OF THE CROWN OF QUEEN'S BENCH."

But, that this may be traced, step by step, to other and higher authority, the following document affords ample proof:

"By the lords justices general, and general governors of Ireland."

"CONS. PHIPPS. CANC. JO. TUAM."

"His grace the duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of this kingdom, having, in his letter unto us, bearing date 18th June last, directed a stop to be put to any farther proceedings against Edward Lloyd, upon the indictment now against him in her majesty's court of queen's bench; we hereby send you a copy of the said letter, and hereby direct and require you, to cause a *noli prosequi* to be entered upon the said indictment accordingly, for doing whereof this shall be your warrant. Given at her majesty's castle of Dublin, 18th July, 1713.

"To our trusty and well beloved, her majesty's attorney and solicitor-general of this kingdom, or either of them." G. DAWSON."

These discoveries having been effected by the inquiries of the commons, the following resolution was passed:—"Resolved, that the Right Honourable Sir Constantine Phipps, lord high chancellor of Ireland, having represented Edward Lloyd as an object of her majesty's mercy, and as not having an evil design in publishing the said libel, in order to obtain a *noli prosequi* on the indictment against him, acted therein contrary to his duty, and contrary to the protestant interest of this kingdom."

Somewhat contemporary with this transaction, was a case of oppression of a loyal protestant. On King William's birth day, Tamerlane was to be acted at the play-house, and Doctor Garth's prologue to it to be spoken. On the actor's refusing to speak the prologue, Dudley Moore, Esq. conceiving it only a handsome encomium on King William, got upon the stage, and there repeated the prologue. He was indicted as for a riot, on the informations of Joseph Ashbery, Cornelius O'Bryan, John Leigh, and James Mac Kenna, and examined before Mr. Justice Coote, a few days afterwards. The grand jury returned *billa vera* on the indictment by mistake, and were afterwards discharged. After this, Alderman Ralph Gore, foreman of the grand jury, came into court, and made oath that *billa vera* was endorsed by his mistake, instead of *ignoramus*. The whole of the grand jury afterwards came into court, and made oath to the same purpose: notwithstanding which, the application was rejected by the court, and Moore bound over to appearance. The attorney-general afterwards moved for trial, which was granted. The next day, the indictment was by consent quashed, and a rule entered for Moore's discharge. After this, the attorney-general filed an information against Moore for the same matter. The attorney-general being asked whether he had any directions to file the said information, and from whom?—answered, he did not think himself obliged to discover what passed between him and the lords justices.

The reader will have perceived that one of these lords justices was the then chancellor, Phipps. The lord mayor and twenty-four aldermen were summoned to the castle

by the lords justices. Phipps made a speech to them, in which he endeavoured to prejudice and influence them against Moore, and against the prologue spoken, which he called seditious, and, he asserted, had been prohibited; and proceeded to tamper with them about the description of persons to be returned on the juries, fit for his purpose, namely, the conviction of Moore.

That this unconstitutional prosecution, or rather persecution, of Moore, was connected with other extended designs against the protestant religion and establishment, I have collected the following resolutions of the commons to prove; which were passed on several days subsequent to the discoveries therein unfolded.

"Resolved, that it appears to this house, that in order to prevent the taking a free poll on the 6th of November, 1713, at the Tholsel, and to procure Sir William Fownes, knight, and Martin Tucker, Esq. to be chosen, a dangerous design was formed, to insult and mob Thomas Bradshaw and Edward Surdeville, Esqrs. who acted as sheriffs in the said election, together with John Forster and Benjamin Burton, Esqrs. two of the candidates for the city of Dublin, and the persons who came to vote for them."

"Resolved, that it appears to this house, that, in pursuance of the said design, a great number of persons, armed with swords and clubs, among whom were many papists, and others unqualified to vote, came with Sir William Fownes, knight, and Martin Tucker, Esq., to the Tholsel, on the 6th of November last, in a tumultuous manner, and during the time that Thomas Bradshaw and Edward Surdeville were proceeding on the queen's writ, tore down the stage erected for taking the poll, with the utmost fury, and put the said Thomas Bradshaw and Edward Surdeville, and John Forster and Benjamin Burton, Esqrs. two of the candidates, with several of the electors, in great terror, and danger of their lives."

"Resolved, that Thomas Harvey, gentleman, servant to the Right Honourable Sir Constantine Phipps, knight, lord high chancellor of Ireland, was a chief fomentor of, and instrument in, carrying on and putting in execution

the riotous design and force, used to obstruct the poll at the Tholsel, on the 6th of November last."

Three days after the last of these resolutions passed, the commons sent an address to the queen; from which I extract the following passage. "With the greatest humility, and utmost concern, your majesty's most loyal subjects, the commons of Ireland, are constrained to lay before your majesty the hardships and oppressions, this your kingdom groans under, through the evil administration of Sir Constantine Phipps, now lord chancellor thereof." The address then states, that the said chancellor encourages papists to insult and traduce protestants; next, the chancellor's oppressive conduct to Dudley Moore, Esq. and prays that the chancellor may be removed.

A few days after this address was sent, the house of commons passed the following resolutions:

"Resolved, that for some years last past, there hath been a design formed and carried on, to subvert the constitution, and alter the government of the city of Dublin."

"Resolved, that in order to carry on that design, a corrupt and illegal attempt was made in the year 1711, to corrupt Alderman Ralph Gore, then lord mayor, by offering him a bribe of 500l. to name thirty-two persons, marked in a list then delivered to him by Martin Tucker, Esq. sub-collector of the port of Dublin, to be common council men for the said city."

"Resolved, that it appears, on the examination of Martin Tucker, Esq. that he was sent to offer the said sum of 500l. to Alderman Ralph Gore, while the Right Honourable Sir Constantine Phipps, Knight, lord chancellor of Ireland, and Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby, were lords justices of this kingdom."

"Resolved, that the city of Dublin hath of late been, and still continues, in great disorder and confusion, by reason of the frequent disapprobations of persons elected lord mayors and sheriffs of the said city, all of them of known affection to her majesty's person and government, and to the constitution in church and state."

"Resolved, that Sir Constantine Phipps, Knight, lord high chancellor of Ireland, hath been the chief cause

and promoter of such frequent disapprobations, and thereby the occasion of the said disorder and confusions."

"Resolved, that since the making the new rules in 1672, until Sir Constantine Phipps arrived in this kingdom, no person elected lord mayor of Dublin hath been disapproved, except in the government of the earl of Tyrconnel."

The happy accession of George the first, however, in 1714, removed the oppressions, and dispelled the still more fearful forebodings of protestants; who had dreaded the prospect in a long duration of a queen's reign, which had already displayed such ominous appearances.

The first event which is material to notice, in George the first's reign, is a resolution of the commons, the year after his accession, 1715, viz.:—

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that whoever advised the late queen to prorogue the late parliament in this kingdom, at a time when a bill to attaint the Pretender was under the consideration of the house of commons, was an enemy to the succession, as by law established in the illustrious house of Hanover, to the protestant interest of this kingdom, and a favourer of the Pretender and popery."

"In 1715, was passed, "an act for the more effectual preventing fraudulent conveyances, in order to multiply votes for electing members to serve in parliament;" a clause in which provided, that no papist should vote, unless he had taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration six months previous to the election.

In 1716, an association was entered into, in consequence of the rebellion which broke out in England, and which was soon after suppressed. The form of the association was similar to that in William's reign. The same year, an act was passed, to restrain papists from being high and petty constables.

In the reign of George the second, 1733, a remarkable discovery was made. John Love, Esq. collector of Mallow, seized some papers in the houses of Teigue Mac Carthy, titular popish bishop of Cork, and Joseph Nagle, a reputed popish solicitor of Cork. The house of

commons appointed a committee to take the matter into consideration, and make a report. From this report, I insert the following extract:

"The committee first took into their consideration an examination of John Hennessy. late the popish priest of the united parishes of Doneraile, taken before the lord Doneraile, and John Love, Esq. the 3rd of January, 1731–2. It sets forth the contents of a popish bull, which was sent from Brussels, in the year 1729, to Christopher Butler, titular popish archbishop of Cashel, and by him transmitted to the several popish bishops in Munster, granting an indulgence to papists for their sins, provided they complied with the terms of the said bull; the principal of which were, to contribute money towards advancing the Pretender to the crown of these kingdoms, and dethroning his sacred majesty King George. It also contains a most treasonable doctrine of Teigue Mac Carthy, titular popish bishop of Cork, that it was not unlawful to rob King George of his duties, since he had no right to the crown."

"Mr. Love being examined, said, that he had been told by several in the country, that money was collected pursuant to the said bull."

"By a letter found in Nagle's lodgings, it appears to the committee, that there was a collection made through the kingdom, in the year 1731, and during the sitting of parliament, in order, as was said, to oppose some bills then transmitted to England, especially two; one for disarming papists, the other against popish solicitors."

"In a letter signed Thomas Woulfe, the first paragraph relates to a former fund, which seems to strengthen Hennessy's examination concerning the collection made for the Pretender, pursuant to the pope's bull. The second paragraph relates entirely to the bills then depending, of which their apprehensions are pointed out as most terrible, that the extirpation of their religion and themselves was at hand. In order to extort money from the ignorant deluded papists in this kingdom, the author of this letter suggests, that these supposed miseries cannot be suspended, but by money and great application."

"By the influence of this, and other letters of the same deceitful and scandalous purport, and of the popish clergy, large sums of money were collected through this kingdom, under pretence of opposing the said bills. And your committee have discovered, in the course of the evidence, that large sums remain under the direction of malignant papists, as a fund for carrying on their ill designs."

"Among Nagle's papers was found one, by which it appears to your committee, that any law for the better securing his majesty's revenue, is as grievous to the papists, as any other to prevent the growth of popery. This paper was attested by Woulfe, Nagle's correspondent, to be Nagle's writing, and contains directions to somebody in Dublin, for opposing a bill of that sort, which he calls the collector's bill, passed last session of parliament, for the better securing and collecting his majesty's revenue. By this, your committee are of opinion, that Hennessy's examination receives a farther strength; for the advice of Nagle corresponds with the titular popish bishop's doctrine."

"Timothy M'Carthy, Timothy O'Brien, and Richard Walsh, have taken upon them to exercise in the county of Cork, a popish ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and we have great reason to believe, from Hennessy's examination, the same is practised in every other part of Munster, in defiance of the laws of the land, and to the great hazard of the peace of this kingdom."

I think it necessary to add to this report the more material part of Hennessy's information; some of which I extract verbatim, the remainder I abridge.

"In the month of August, or September, 1729, he, this informant, was in company with Connor Keeffe, popish bishop of Limerick, Francis Lloyd, popish bishop of Killaloe, and Doctor Stones, a Franciscan friar, of the city of Dublin, at the house of Teigue Mac Carthy, popish bishop of Cork and Cloyne, when the said Keeffe and Lloyd delivered a letter to the said Mac Carthy, from Christopher Butler, popish archbishop of Cashel, acquainting him, that he had received a letter from the

pope's internuncio at Brussels; that the pope had complied with the request of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland; and that his holiness had sent him an indulgence for ten years, in order to raise a sum of money, to be speedily applied to restore King James the third to his right, and put their present majesties, and all the royal family, to the sword."

"Soon after this, informant received a letter, and a copy of the pope's bull, from his said bishop, with directions strictly to obey the same, the purport of which is as follows:—'That every communicant, duly confessing and receiving, upon the patron days of every respective parish, and any Sunday, from the 1st of May, to September, having repeated the Lord's prayer five times, and once, the apostles creed, upon paying two-pence each time, was to have a plenary indulgence for his sins; and all approved confessors had a full power to absolve, in all cases; with intent, that God would speedily place King James the third on the throne of England.' That the money so raised in every parish, together with five pounds per annum from every parish priest, was to be paid to the bishop of each diocese; who swore said priests to a true account of what money they collected, by virtue of said bull."

The bishops were to pay over the money to the Pretender's agents. Nagle and Lloyd were agents for Munster.

This report having been made, the commons agreed to the resolutions of the committee, viz.:

"Resolved, that it appears to this committee, that under colour of opposing heads of bills brought into parliament last session, great sums of money have been collected and raised, and a fund established, by the popish inhabitants of this kingdom, through the influence of their clergy, highly detrimental to the protestant interest of this kingdom, and of imminent danger to the present happy establishment."

"Resolved, that there is a popish ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised in this kingdom, by popish archbishops, bishops, and vicars-general, in open violation of the laws of the land."

"Resolved, that an humble address be presented to his grace the lord lieutenant, to issue his proclamation to all magistrates, to put the laws against popery in execution."

"Resolved, that Thomas Woulfe, and Joseph Nagle, have grossly misrepresented the proceedings of the house of commons, last session of parliament, and reflected on the honour and justice of the said house; and have, by such misrepresentation, promoted the collecting divers sums of money from the poor deluded popish inhabitants of this kingdom, under pretence of obstructing the proceedings of this house."

In 1734, an act was passed, to prevent persons converted from the popish to the protestant religion, and married to popish wives, or educating their children in the popish religion, from acting as justices of the peace.

In 1739, the commons presented an address to the lord lieutenant, praying him "to take such legal methods of disarming the papists, as may preserve the public peace and tranquillity." The viceroy answered:—"The house of commons may be assured, that I shall at all times be ready to do every thing in my power, that may contribute to preserve the public peace and tranquillity; for which purpose, pursuant to their advice, a proclamation is already ordered, for disarming the papists of this kingdom."

In 1745, on the breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland, a speech was made by the lord lieutenant, Chesterfield, to the two houses, from which I extract the most pertinent passages.

"Your own reflections will best suggest to you the advantages you have enjoyed under a succession of protestant princes, by nature inclined, and by legal authority enabled, to preserve and protect you; as your own history, and even the experience of some still alive among you, will best paint the miseries and calamities of a people, scourged, rather than governed, by blind zeal and lawless power."

"These considerations must necessarily excite your highest indignation at the attempt now carrying on in

Scotland, to disturb his majesty's government, by a pretender to his crown; one nursed up in civil and religious error; formed to persecution and oppression, in the seat of superstition and tyranny; whose groundless claim is as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as to the particular laws and constitution of these kingdoms; whose only hopes of support are placed in the enemies of the liberties of Europe in general; and whose success would consequently destroy your liberty, your property, and your religion."

"The measures that have hitherto been taken to prevent the growth of popery, have, I hope, had some, and will still have a greater effect; however, I leave it to your consideration, whether nothing farther can be done, either by new laws, or by the more effectual execution of those in being, to secure this nation against the great number of papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their pernicious influence upon civil society did not both require and authorize restraint."

An association was very soon after entered into, by all the members of the parliament, as follows:—

"Whereas a most wicked and unnatural rebellion is raised in Scotland, in order to place a popish pretender on the throne of these kingdoms, to the subversion of our religion, laws, and liberties: we the knights, citizens, and burgesses, in parliament assembled, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having an utter abhorrence of such an insolent attempt, a due sense of his majesty's paternal care of, and concern for, the preservation of our happy constitution, in church and state, and of his exposing his royal person in maintenance of the liberties of Europe, do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly, mutually promise and engage to unite, associate, stand by, and to the utmost of our power assist each other, in support and defence of his majesty's most sacred person and government, and the protestant succession to the crown in his royal house, against the Pretender and all his adherents."

From the speaker's speech to the viceroy, the same session, the following is an extract:—

"In the present unquiet situation of affairs, to animate their fellow subjects to a defence of their religion and liberty, they have passed a law, offering a high reward for the apprehending, alive or dead, the persons of those disturbers of our peace, in case they shall land, or attempt to land, in this kingdom; and they are determined, to the utmost of their power, to disappoint the designs of that detestable rebellion, now carried on in a neighbouring kingdom, in favour of a popish abjured pretender; one who has ever meditated cruel revenge against a free people, which he is well instructed to execute by that spiritual tyrant, whose every art is employed in contriving the destruction of the civil and religious rights we so happily enjoy."

In 1746, an act was passed, for annulling all marriages to be celebrated by any popish priest, between protestant and protestant, or between protestant and papist; and to amend and make more effectual an act passed in the sixth year of Queen Anne, entitled, "an act for the more effectual preventing the taking away, and marrying children against the consent of their parents or guardians."

In 1755, the commons passed the following resolutions:

"Resolved, that no person who hath been, or shall be, a papist, after the age of twelve years, hath a right, by the laws of this kingdom, to vote at any election, for any member to serve in parliament, unless such person shall, before such election, have enrolled a certificate of his conformity, and have received the sacrament, and have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declaration, appointed by the several acts and statutes made in this kingdom, to prevent the farther growth of popery."

"Resolved, that no person who was, or shall be, a protestant, at the time of his marriage, and whose wife hath been, or shall be, a papist, at the time of the marriage, hath a right, by the laws of this kingdom, to vote at any election of any member to serve in parliament, unless such wife shall, within one year after her marriage to such protestant, have enrolled a certificate of her conformity, and have received the sacrament, and

have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declaration appointed by the several acts and statutes made in this kingdom, to prevent the farther growth of popery."

From the viceroy's speech to both houses, in his present majesty's reign, the following is an extract:

"You can be no strangers to his majesty's most gracious declaration, that the preservation of the constitution, in church and state, and the enforcing a due obedience to the laws, not more necessary to his own authority, than to the liberties of his people, shall be the first and constant object of his care. And I have it particularly in command to declare to you, that his subjects of this kingdom are fully and in every respect comprehended in these assurances."

"His majesty's wise choice of a royal consort, eminent for her personal virtues and endowments, and descended from a house so illustrious for its attachment to the protestant cause, displays in the clearest light his paternal care, not only to preserve to us, but transmit unimpaired to our posterity, the blessings of his reign, liberty and pure religion."

Our upright, parental, and mild monarch had not been long seated on the throne, which he has adorned at every period of his reign by his virtues, and to which he has cemented, and in defence of which he has engaged, by ties immutable, every heart in his dominions, not made up of the basest materials;—he had not been long seated, I say, when disturbances arose in Ireland. The pledges had been only just given, to which the above speech of the viceroy adverts, of a constitutional reign, tempered, at the same time, with a remarkable and praiseworthy mixture of mildness and clemency, when a faction, called White-boys, arose; and, successively, soon after, two others, called Hearts of Oak, and Hearts of Steel. I shall not fatigue the reader with any description of these, nor of the subsequent factions, called Right-boys, Defenders, United Irishmen, Caravats, Shanavests, Carders, Threshers, and Ribbon-men; as, maugre all their pretences, or purposes, the only fit designation for them all, either in their succession, or in the aggregate, is—Rebels. But the

following extract from the viceroy's speech to both houses, in 1763, is here applicable.

"Not only my duty, but my earnest good wishes for the prosperity of Ireland, oblige me to take this opportunity of mentioning to you the only unpleasing circumstance which has occurred since my entrance upon this government; the tumultuous risings of the lower people, in contempt of laws and of magistracy, and of every constitutional subordination, must, if not duly attended to, be productive of the most fatal consequences. They are a disgrace to a country of liberty—they are ruinous to a country of commerce—and must be particularly fatal here, where the least check to the rising spirit of industry is so very sensibly felt, and so very difficult to be retrieved. No means can serve more effectually to prevent these disorders for the future, than the encouragement of such institutions as tend to impress on the minds of the lower order of people, early habits of industry, and true principles of religion. For this purpose, your protestant charter schools were established, to which I therefore recommend the continuance of your care, encouragement and support."

Immediately subsequent to this speech, addresses from both houses were presented to the king and to the viceroy: which require not insertion here, as they are merely echoes of the speech.

In 1764, however, an address was presented by both houses to the viceroy, from which I insert an extract, as follows:

"Had these grievances (the pretended occasions of the late insurrections,) been found to have a real existence, yet the violent and tumultuary attempts for redressing them, would not have been, in the eye of the law, less criminal; and would, even in that case, have been what they now undoubtedly are—treason against the state."

"But when no traces of oppression can be seen, we can only impute these disorders to the artful contrivances of designing men, who, from selfish and interested views, have spread this licentious spirit among the people, and raised in their minds, a restless and turbulent impatience of every legal and constitutional obligation."

"And we must confess it to be a melancholy reflection in a state, the foundation and the pride of which is civil liberty, no invasion whereof can with any colour be pretended, by these disturbers of the public repose, that it became necessary to call in the military power, in aid of the civil, without which interposition, the rapid progress of these disorders could not, upon some late occasions, have been so effectually withstood."

"When we offer these considerations to your excellency, we have the firmest persuasion and confidence, that his majesty has always made, and ever will make, the laws of all his kingdoms, framed equally for the support of his royal authority, and for the maintenance of the liberties of his subjects, the invariable rule of his government, and that it is his gracious intention, that all ranks and orders of men should enjoy, without disturbance or molestation, and be protected in, the possession of those rights and privileges, allotted to them by the laws and the constitution: whosoever exceeds these bounds, can lay no claim to that protection."

At this time the commons passed a resolution, which I think it material to insert:

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the corporation of the city of Dublin, in consideration of their steady allegiance and fidelity, their constant regard to the glorious revolution, and all its happy consequences, particularly their inviolable attachment to the protestant succession in the present royal family, which is the great ornament and blessing of these kingdoms, merits the particular attention and favour of this house."

Hence the envenomed shafts which have been directed against this presumptuously loyal and firm corporation, by "*unrelenting hatred!*"

The same year an act was passed, for confirming the titles, and for quieting the possessions of protestants, and for giving time to the converts from popery, to perform the requisites of conformity prescribed by the laws against popery. This act contains the following paragraph:

"All such person or persons, as have heretofore obtained the bishop's certificate of their conformity, and from and

after the obtaining the same, have professed the protestant religion, and have continued protestants, and have not performed all the other legal requisites of conformity, and shall perform the same before the 1st day of December, in the year 1765, shall from the time of his, her, or their conformity from the popish to the protestant religion, be deemed and taken to be protestants of the established church, to all intents and purposes."

In the year 1776, it was found necessary to pass the White-boy act; the abstract of which is as follows.—Persons found in arms, day or night, in any disguise, or distinguished by any name, other than their usual name, are liable to corporal punishment, fine, and imprisonment. Persons maiming, wounding, shooting at, threatening, by letter, the person, or property of another, or persuading or compelling him to join in any criminal offences, are punishable with death. Persons forcibly entering the dwelling-houses of others in the night, or causing any door to be opened, any arms, ammunition, horses, or other goods or chattels, to be seized, are punishable with death. Aiding, abetting, or concealing any such persons, is death; and persons killing or maiming such offenders, in pursuing or apprehending them, are indemnified. All damages done by such offenders, are to be made good by assessment, in the district where the damage is sustained. Magistrates are empowered to search for, and seize all arms, &c., in the possession of papists, not duly licensed; and persons under such denomination, are liable to corporal punishment, fine, and imprisonment, for concealing arms, ammunition, &c. The act, however, allows time for criminals to surrender, and receive pardon, and enacts, that no confession shall be brought in evidence against any so surrendering, or pleading pardon.

In 1778, Romanists, taking and subscribing the oath of allegiance, and the declaration prescribed by the act, in 1774, and enrolling their names, were empowered, by an act of parliament, to take leases for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or five lives; and lands, &c. were made devisable, transferable, and descendible, to, or from them. The penal acts were repealed, respecting

the hearing and celebrating mass, and several other restrictions removed.

In 1782, Romanists were, by another act, relieved from all restrictions respecting property, and most of the restraints on them were removed. In the debate in the house of commons, previously, it is worthy of observation, that their number was then estimated at only two millions. This I give on authority that can hardly be disputed, that of their own advocates then, Mr. Walshe, Mr. Grattan, and Sir Boyle Roche. He who should believe the two millions swelled to three millions, since 1782, could scarcely be deemed very incredulous! Four millions and five millions, however, and sometimes, to suit the purposes of splendid orations, six and seven millions have been intimated. One of their own writers, Doctor Burke, titular bishop of Ossory, who had made a calculation in 1762, stated their number then to be, one million three hundred thousand; and the number of the protestants to be, seven hundred and seventy thousand.

In 1783, I find the following "resolutions of the catholic committee:"—

"SIR PATRICK BELLEW IN THE CHAIR."

"Resolved, that we feel ourselves particularly called upon to declare, that this committee consists of every Roman catholic nobleman and gentleman of landed property, and of other gentlemen, chosen by their fellow subjects of that persuasion in Dublin, and other principal parts of the kingdom."

"Resolved, that thus constituted, we have, for several years past, been the medium through which the voice of the Roman catholics of Ireland has been conveyed, and the only one competent thereto."

In 1791, the following resolution was passed:—"At a meeting of the general committee of the Roman catholics of Ireland, Dublin, 10th February, 1791."

"Resolved, that the several papers now read, containing resolutions and instructions from this city, and from the principal cities and towns of Ireland, be referred to a

committee of eight, who shall report thereon to this committee, on Friday, the 18th instant."

In 1792, a very constitutional and proper address, which it is not necessary to insert here, because it is similar to that which I have given in the English abstract, in 1789, disavowing certain hostile tenets of the Romish religion, was prepared, and presented to government, by Lord Kenmare: soon after which, "the general committee of the Roman catholics" passed resolutions, condemning it "as surreptitiously obtained, and not containing the real sense of the catholic body;" and declaring, "that Lord Kenmare had forfeited their confidence." Soon after, Lords Fingal and Kenmare, and Sir Patrick Bellew, seceded. The Romish bishops issued menaces against those who had subscribed the declaration contained in the address. I admit that these were of a spiritual nature; but the discerning reader will easily discover, why such menaces cannot partake of materiality, under a free and enlightened, or, if their graces and lordships like the phrase better, "an a-catholic government." He who shall draw his conclusions from historical facts, which, I humbly submit, are the only tenable premises, cannot reasonably have his charity or liberality impeached, if he believe, that the absence of temporal chastisement, even of the refractory members of the church of Rome, may possibly be, not from the want of will, but from the want of power to inflict it!

"The catholic committee," this year, and also the three next years in succession, proceeded to the exercise of one of its functions, levying money on his majesty's Romish subjects within the realm.

The same year, 1792, an act was passed, granting Romanists, that after the 24th day of June, 1792, they may practise as barristers and attorneys; that they and protestants may intermarry; that popish school-masters need not obtain licenses from the ordinary to keep school, and all restrictions as to foreign education were removed. In the debate in the house of commons, previously, Sir Hercules Langrishe, their warm advocate, said—"Notwithstanding my prepossessions in favour of the

Roman-catholics, I was checked for some time in my ardour to serve them, by reading, of late, a multitude of publications, and paragraphs in the newspapers, and other public prints, circulated gratis, with the utmost industry, purporting to convey the sentiments of the catholics.—What was their import?—they were exhortations to the people never to be satisfied at any concession until the state itself was conceded!—they were precautions against public tranquillity—they were invitations to disorder, and covenants of discontent—they were ostentations of strength, rather than solicitations for favours—rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the state—they involved the relief of the catholic, with the revolution of the government—and were dissertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration!"

In 1793, the Romanists were granted, the elective franchise; eligibility to be justices of peace, grand jurors, and officers in the army and navy; liberty to endow a college and schools; liberty to carry arms, to those possessing a certain degree of property; and the right of challenge against a Romanist was taken away, in causes where a protestant and a Romanist are the parties.—These, with the former grants, leave them now under no exclusions but the following: the parliament, the privy council, and the offices of viceroy, lord-chancellor, master of the rolls, judges, judges of the court of admiralty, secretary of state, lord privy seal, vice-treasurer, deputy vice-treasurer, teller and cashier of the exchequer, auditor general, lieutenant, or governor, or custos rotulorum of counties, secretary to the viceroy, sergeants at law, attorney-general, solicitor-general, king's counsel, masters in chancery, provost or fellow of Trinity college, post-master-general, master or lieutenant-general of the ordnance, commander in chief of the forces, general on the staff, sheriff or sub-sheriff of any county; and from holding any office of trust that can be established by the lord-lieutenant and council, under the seventeenth and eighteenth of Charles the second. They are also excluded from the offices of mayors, sheriffs, recorders,

aldermen, common-council men, &c., in cities; and from the offices of high or sub-sheriffs of counties.

These privileges, granted in 1793, were specifically enumerated, in their previous petition, as the objects of their anxious desire; and they were predicated, in all contemporary publications, as the component parts which made up complete emancipation; and would be the means of producing perfect contentment, and ensuring the most flourishing state of peace, happiness, and prosperity in Ireland. Some little time before this period, Father O'Leary, in one of his tracts, expresses himself thus:—"This happy system of toleration could be introduced, by excluding in this kingdom the catholics from any high offices under the crown; secondly, from the privilege of sitting in the senate; thirdly, if the use of arms gives any umbrage, from the privilege of carrying them, except to such as have a mind to serve their country in the army, or such persons as are possessed of real or personal estate, amounting to whatever value the legislature thinks fit; all other laws heretofore enacted, to be null and void. The kingdom would soon flourish; and the brilliant example set to such princes as have not as yet thrown open the gates of toleration, would rescue mankind from the heavy yoke which misconstrued religion has laid on their necks." Thus one of their own priests, previous to the grant of these privileges, held them out as the most desirable boon, and viewed them as complete emancipation.

In the debate which preceded the grant, the late earl of Clare demonstrated the falsehood of an assertion which the petition contained, that the treaty of Limerick had been violated. The first article of that treaty, he plainly shewed, was the only one which related to the whole Romish body; stipulating, that they should have liberty to exercise their religion, as in the reign of Charles the second. This they have had, ever since, to a greater extent, than under Charles the second. The second article applies only to the garrison of Limerick, and other fortified places, and contains the terms of surrender granted to them exclusively. Lord Clare's speech con-

tains the following remarkable passage :—" It is utterly impossible that a zealous catholic can exercise the efficient powers of government in support of a protestant establishment in Ireland, or in support of her connexion with the protestant empire of Great Britain. It is not to the people who profess the catholic religion, that I look, upon this occasion ; it is to the principles of that religion, to which I know they are zealously and superstitiously devoted : the influence which these principles have had upon the political government of every nation in Europe, for centuries."

Doctor Duigenan had proposed, in the house of commons, that the following sentence should be inserted in the oath of Romanists :—" Nor do we believe, that any other sect of christians are, of course, to be doomed to eternal damnation hereafter, and that they may not enter into a state of salvation, because they happen to differ from us in religious tenets." All their ecclesiastics, and the leading members of the laity, declared, that the fundamental principles of their religion rendered such an oath inadmissible.

The following is an extract from the report of the secret committee of the house of lords, in 1793 :

" The people at this time called Defenders, are very different from those who originally assumed that appellation, and are all, as far as the committee could discover, of the Roman catholic persuasion ; in general, poor ignorant labouring men, sworn to secrecy, and impressed with an opinion, that they are assisting the catholic cause. In other respects, they do not appear to have any distinct particular object in view ; but they talk of being relieved from hearth-money, tithes, county cesses, and of lowering their rents. They first appeared in the county of Louth, in considerable bodies, in April last. Several of them were armed : they assembled mostly in the night, and forced into the houses of protestants, and took from them their arms. The disorders soon spread through the counties of Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and other parts adjacent ; at first, they took nothing but arms, but afterwards they plundered the houses of every

thing they could find. Their measures appear to have been concerted and conducted with the utmost secrecy, and a degree of regularity and system not usual in people in such mean condition, and as if directed by men of a superior rank. Sums of money, to a considerable amount, have been levied, and still continue to be levied, upon the Roman catholics in all parts of the kingdom, by subscriptions and collections at their chapels, and elsewhere; some of which levies have been made, and still continue to be made, under the authority of a printed circular letter, which has been sent into all parts of the kingdom, a copy of which letter we think it our duty to insert herein."

"SIR,

"By an order of the sub-committee, dated the 15th of January, I had the honour to forward you a plan for a general subscription, which had for its object the raising a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expenses incurred by the general committee, in conducting the affairs of the catholics of Ireland. As several mistakes have occurred in the transmission of these letters, owing to my ignorance of the address of many of the delegates, I am directed to inform you, that such a plan is now in forwardness throughout the kingdom. A measure so strongly enforced by necessity, and so consonant to justice, cannot fail to attract your very serious attention; the committee having the most perfect reliance on your zeal, are therefore confident, that you will use your best exertions to carry the necessary business into full effect."

"*Dublin, Feb. 5th*, 1793." { "SIGNED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE."

"P. S.—It is hoped you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter, stating at the same time, whatever progress has been made in your district."

"Several seditious and inflammatory papers, published in Dublin, and dispersed through the country, seem to have countenanced and encouraged the Defenders in

their proceedings: and it appears, that letters were written by a member of the committee of the Roman catholics, at Dublin, previous to the last summer assizes, to a person resident at Dundalk, in one of which the said person, in the name of the said Roman catholic committee, directed inquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the Defenders then in confinement, were accused; which inquiries will be best explained, by inserting the said letter, in the words following:"—

"*Dublin, 9th August*, 1792."

"DEAR SIR,

"I received this day, your favour of 8th inst. enclosing the different papers respecting the business I wrote you. It is with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that from the want of information on the subject matter of the indictments, no precise opinion can be formed, whether the alleged offence is, or is not bailable; the committee are consequently in the dark as to the measures that should be adopted, nor can your exertions accelerate, as it seems, that period, until the assizes, when you will be able to obtain copies of the examinations. Mr. Nugent's brother left town this day truly disconsolate, in not being able to effect something towards the liberation of his kinsman; he, however, did his best in the affair."

"I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,"

"JOHN SWEETMAN."

"P. S.—If any new occurrence should happen, be good enough to inform me of it."

"And it does appear, that the said person to whom the said letter was addressed at Dundalk, did employ, at a considerable expense, an agent and counsel to act for several persons who were accused of being Defenders, and were indicted for offences committed by them in the county of Louth, one of which offenders appears to be particularly named in the above letter. But the com-

mittee think it their duty to state, that nothing appeared before them, which could lead them to believe, that the body of the Roman catholics in this kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing such disturbances, or that they were privy to this application of any part of the money which had been levied upon them, however suspicious the conduct of ill disposed individuals of their persuasion, resident in Dublin, may have been."

The report proceeds to state, that some of the magistrates have exerted themselves with vigour and courage, to support the laws, but that the greater part were inactive, which prevented the suppression of the disturbances; and it states, the best means for restoring tranquillity to be, "to procure a sufficient number of active, resolute, and steady magistrates, who would exert themselves to maintain the public peace, and to cut off from these deluded people all hope or expectation of support or defence, arising from a common fund to be levied upon persons of their communion."

In 1793, was passed, "an act to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions, or other addresses, to his majesty or the parliament." This is usually termed the convention act, and is in substance as follows:—All assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons elected, or in any other manner constituted or appointed to represent the people of this realm, or any number or description of them, or the people of any province, county, city, town, or other district, within the same, under pretence of petitioning for, or in any other manner procuring, an alteration of matters established by law, in church or state, except the members of parliament, or houses of convocation, duly summoned by the king's writ, are unlawful assemblies; and magistrates are required to disperse them, and, if resisted, to apprehend offenders. It constitutes publishing, or causing to be published, any written or other notice of election or appointment of representatives or delegates; or attending, or voting, or in any other manner acting, in the appointment of such, a high misdemeanor.—

Exceptions are provided for elections by bodies corporate, and for the right of petitioning.

The same year, Doctor Troy published a pastoral letter, which contains the following sentence: "Catholics are obliged to believe, as an article of faith, that the pope, or bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, is the supreme visible head of the church on earth, and the centre of catholic unity, with a primacy, by divine right, of real jurisdiction and authority in the church, and that all catholics owe him canonical respect and obedience on that account."

In 1794, several thousands of the Defenders assembled in the neighbourhood of Ballinaugh, in the county of Cavan. The protestant inhabitants fled, and their houses and properties were taken possession of by some of the Defenders, while they were pursued by others. Some of the Dublin militia, in co-operation with the protestant inhabitants, met and defeated them. They retired into the town of Ballinaugh, which they took possession of, and fired from the houses on the soldiers and protestants. The magistrates were obliged to direct the town to be burned, to dislodge them, and it was burned to ashes.

The following is an extract from the speech of the viceroy to both houses, the 25th of March, 1794:— "I am sorry to inform you, that in some parts of the county of Cork, the people, deluded by the artifices of wicked and designing men, have assembled in numerous bodies, and have compelled many to take unlawful oaths." The disturbances here alluded to, were in some little time suppressed by the exertions of the troops, and of some of the magistrates.

In 1795, Maynooth college was established by an act of parliament; by which, certain trustees were empowered to receive donations for establishing and endowing an academy for the education of persons professing the Romish religion, and to acquire lands, free from forfeiture by mortmain. Little short of forty thousand pounds was granted for its establishment at first; and in every subsequent session, a regular charge of eight thousand pounds has been made to parliament, for its annual

support. I may add, too, that this does not appear to content them. I have myself heard it represented as trifling, by gentlemen of that better informed, or rather, deeper initiated class of Romanists, as to faith and doctrine, which is recognised as composed of "competent expounders;" while the encouragement of the protestant charter schools has been spoken of with contempt, dislike, and jealousy. But, with all due deference for the purity of these gentlemen's faith, it may, perhaps, be considered not very irrelevant to remark, that if the original sum had been, or the yearly stipend were, a great deal less, the grant of any sum must be considered as a step farther in essential and practical liberality, than the most perfect and complete toleration of religious worship could possibly demand, from a protestant establishment, to a Romish seminary.

In 1796, the viceroy again addressed both houses as follows:—"It is with regret I feel myself obliged to advert to those secret and treasonable associations, the dangerous extent and malignity of which have, in some degree, been disclosed in several trials, and to the disturbances which have taken place in some parts of the kingdom."

In the list of these disturbances, any attempt to recount which, would render this work too voluminous for my proposed limits and object, the minute inquirer into the past transactions in Ireland, will find many instances of atrocious, deliberate, and systematic murder; which, from this period, arrived, with progressive steps, at such maturity of audacity, that it was sufficient for a man to be an active and upright magistrate, or even a loyal and zealous subject, for his life to be despaired of by his friends. A loyal man, who would not be persuaded or intimidated into joining the traitors, and who had not the address to conceal the secret of his loyalty, or, in some parts of the country, did not at least affect neutrality, could count "his head's assurance but frail."

Whenever matters arrive at this desperate estate in any nation, it is not only the just and lawful province, but the indispensable and paramount duty of an efficient

government, to interpose, as soon as is practicable, after the overt acts become tangible, the strong arm of power, for the purpose of prompt suppression. But, in these free countries, where genuine liberty is the essential characteristic of the constitution and frame of the government, and where no valid excuse for sedition or disaffection can be urged, much less for robbery and murder; and these, too, of the most virtuous and upright members of society; the compulsion of the constituted authorities to the performance of this duty, acquires, by every law divine and human, double force! The duties of obedience and protection are reciprocal. As, on the one hand, "every soul" is to be "subject to the higher powers;" so, on the other, while "the king, as supreme," or "governors, sent by him," "minister good to the good," "the sword is not born in vain, but is to *execute* wrath upon the evil." Conformable, therefore, to holy writ—to the laws of nature—to the laws of nations—and to the laws of the individual land which they were "ordained" to govern, was the conduct of its "rulers," when treason and murder advanced with diabolical and ghastly strides, in the face of day, within the bosom of that land! They suspended the habeas corpus act; and an act was passed, entitled, "an act more effectually to suppress insurrections, and to prevent the disturbance of the public peace;" by which it is enacted, that "it shall be lawful for the justices of the peace of any county, assembled at a special session, in manner by the said act directed, not being fewer than seven, or the major part of them, one of whom to be of the quorum, if they judge fit, upon due consideration of the state of the county, to signify by memorial, by them signed, to the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, that they consider their county, or any part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming so, and praying that the said lord lieutenant and council may proclaim such county, or part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance; thereupon, it shall be lawful for the said lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, by and with the advice of his majesty's

privy council, by proclamation, to declare such county, or any part of such county, to be in a state of disturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming so, and also such parts of any adjoining county or counties, as such chief governor shall think fit, in order to prevent the continuance or extension of such disturbance."

"The information of any prosecutors on behalf of the crown, who may be afterwards assassinated, shall be admitted as evidence against delinquents."

"Any person having arms," is required by it "to register them, his name, and place of abode; and a magistrate may search for arms the house of any person who shall not do so."

"If a magistrate, or peace officer, be murdered while on duty, or in consequence of his exertions to serve the public, the grand jury may levy a sum of money on the county, for his representative.

On a county, or any part thereof, being proclaimed, "the magistrates are required to hold petty sessions as often as necessary, but never at a longer interval than fourteen days; and to punish offenders in a summary way."

All persons are required, when the county or barony has been proclaimed, to keep within their houses between sun-set and sun-rise; and are liable to be transported, if found out of their houses in the night.

This act was introduced by the then attorney-general, Mr. Wolfe, afterwards Lord Kilwarden, and lord chief justice of the king's bench; whose lamented and tragical fate, in the year 1803, in the open day, in the streets of Dublin, (the victim himself, in daring defiance of all laws divine and human, of the murderous system which his integrity and his talents had been exerted to suppress,) I shall notice in its proper place.

The operation of this act was first introduced in part of the county of Down, where the most violent outrages compelled its application, soon after it had passed into a law.

These, and such like vigorous measures, then, and since, have attracted the obloquy, and excited the bellowings of insidious and seditious news-writers and orators. But

safe in the collision with truth and reason, the conflict with such contemptible opponents can be easily sustained. They have been defined as infringements on the liberty of the subject, in a free constitution, and hostile to the spirit of the constitution. I shall leave to the penetration of my readers, to discover what kind of liberty is wanted by these "talented men," when matters arrive to that kind of crisis which I have described. I know not. Sure I am, however, that it is not the christian liberty. Is it the liberty, when matters have first proceeded to these formidable lengths, for murder to ride triumphantly, openly, undisputedly, and with impunity?—Is it (they knowing the atrocious crimes which compel the application of coercive measures,) a liberty to preach these crimes as heroic, meritorious, and the road to heaven!

But it is insinuated, that the power of locomotion is prevented: that a restraint is placed on the innocent as well as the guilty—that an innocent person being found out in the hours between sun-set and sun-rise, may be transported. In the first place, this can never apply to any person who does not live in a district which is actually disturbed, and not only disturbed, but that has been, by the regular and required steps, proclaimed. The disturbance and the subsequent proclamation, may be easily supposed to be sufficiently notorious, particularly in the disturbed district, where, only, the proclamation, and the law on which it is founded, have effect. It cannot then be that very great grievance, under the exigency of such a case, for an *innocent* man to conform to a regulation which secures his own safety; for, if innocent, it would certainly be better for him to stay within during the hours of night, in a disturbed district, than to go out, and, perhaps, be murdered; which there would be a chance of happening him, if he would not join "the cause;" putting the event of transportation out of the question. Besides, what business can labouring people have out, in a disturbed district, that they cannot do between the rising and setting of the sun. If, however, an innocent man should go out in the night, on an emergency—sickness in his family, for instance—(a case which

has been put,) I must here observe, first, that truth is the best eloquence. The sickness, or emergency, stated, and capable of being proved by more demonstrable evidence than either an assertion or an oath, inasmuch as the sickness or emergency would be coexistent with his examination: the magistrate that would pervert justice, by transporting him, would deserve to be impeached.—Next, there is no human government sufficiently intuitive to know, amid the systematic artifices of concealed treason, who is innocent, or who is not; and, therefore, in a case of this kind, the *onus probandi* must clearly lie on the person found out of his house at unlawful hours. And if, after all, we even admit a temporary restraint on personal freedom, there is no rational, considerate, or innocent person, but will consider the remedy, although unpleasant in its confining nature, to be, at least, better than the disease to which it is applied. When the disease is cured, the remedy, of course, ceases. Such is the constitution and course of nature, that we must submit sometimes to a temporary evil, and a fleeting inconvenience, for the sake of procuring, by that very means, permanent good, secure settlement, and ultimate safety. We must bear the lesser evil to escape the greater. We must endure a slight, local, partial infringement of our liberty; and that, too, at hours when the enjoyments of all virtuous, domestic, honest and sober people, are in the bosoms of their families, or in the necessary and healthful restorative, and "chief nourisher in life's feast"—sleep; which the great Lord of the vineyard, He who "keepeth the city," "giveth his beloved;"—we must endure, I say, this trifling restraint, to whomsoever of us it be a restraint; and consider it a cheap premium of insurance, for the preservation of the religion, laws, rights, liberties, properties, and lives of ourselves and our posterity.

In 1797, the traitors proceeded to more daring and general outrages; in short, to every overt act of rebellion: in consequence of which, General Lake was authorized by the viceroy to act as the public safety should require, in the northern district, where he was stationed, and where insurrectionary movements had commenced, by the employment of the troops and the yeomanry to sup-

press the disturbances; and by seizing and recovering such arms and ammunition as had been traitorously taken from the troops and loyal subjects.

The report of the secret committee of the house of lords, in 1797, describes—"that in the event of success on the part of the conspirators, it had been decided, that all persons who from their principles or situation may be deemed inimical to the conspiracy, shall be massacred: the first proscribed list, it has appeared to your committee, has been calculated by one of their leaders at thirty thousand persons."

In 1797, the insurrection act was obliged to be put in force in several districts, and large seizures of arms were made. The conspirators had been, for some time before, denominated "United Irishmen." It is the policy of all illegal associations, to change the name, when such becomes convenient and profitable to the purposes of delusion. But, as I before observed, it is of no import what the name be, whether White-boys, Defenders, or United Irishmen, while we can so easily discern, in the overt acts of the individuals, "what kind of spirit they are of," in the aggregate. In like manner, the Romish convention is still indicated, by the speeches of its orators, the same convention, whether it assume the name of "committee," "board," or "association:" alike obnoxious to every law divine or human—alike intended to beard the government, libel, insult, and depreciate courts of justice, and magistrates, disturb the country, and delude its ignorant, bigoted, and unfortunate inhabitants.

It might be asserted, that the convention has not exhibited, since its having received its new title of "Association," so very violent a character: which in some measure would be true. But whether this reserve arises from prudence or conviction—whether it proceeds from fear or love—whether the "Association" is "subject for wrath or for conscience sake," I shall leave to casuists to determine; as I shall to lawyers the legality of its existence at all.

In the commencement of 1798, the disturbances were observed to hasten, with progressive acceleration, to their crisis.

Lord Grenville, then a member of administration, in reply to some absurd proposals of conciliation, from the then opposition, in the English parliament, after stating the nature of the conspiracy to be, "to deliver the country to the French invaders," said—"That such a system did exist had been proved: and that large sums had been distributed to hire assassins to murder those who were inimical to their traitorous plans; to intimidate all witnesses who came to give evidence against them; and even to deter juries from giving a conscientious verdict. Were not the same terrors hung over the heads of the judges and magistrates, to scare them from the performance of their sacred duty."

On the 23d of May, the rebellion broke out; and was pursued with the most infatuated and diabolical violence. It would be foreign to the design, and too diffuse for the compass of this treatise, to give a history of this rebellion; and it would be quite superfluous, as Sir Richard Musgrave's history contains a copious account of all particulars connected with it. There are also two publications extant, of a local nature—Jackson's Narrative, and Taylor's History of the Rebellion in Wexford; and there is a compressed account, of a general nature, in the Annual Register for 1798. I shall, therefore, only advert briefly to such prominent and characteristic acts of atrocity and cruelty, and such well authenticated religious instructions, which excited them, as shall be directly and immediately applicable to my subject. As other histories of this nefarious conspiracy have been published, which differ materially from these, from which only I have extracted, I think it necessary to give my reasons for this preference. Plainly then, I have seen no other, on which I could depend: and these carry with them the accredited passport of authenticity—the internal demonstration of the truth of the facts related. The acute and learned Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, sets out with this declaration, "I shall take an effectual way to be believed." This he has effected, by suffering nothing he advances as facts, to be dependent on his own assertions; but he gives his proofs; and, as these are at too great length to be

interwoven in, without breaking the thread of, his history, he adds them in an appendix. This method, exactly, Sir Richard Musgrave has taken; and his history, Jackson's narrative, Taylor's history, and the sketch in the Annual Register, agree with the reports of the secret committees of the houses of lords and commons in Ireland, in the facts, at least, if it be assumed not always in the inferences. The reports are founded on the confession of some of the chiefs of the conspiracy; with whom the government entered into this kind of compromise, as an equivalent for their discoveries;—"Not body's death, but body's banishment." They are founded also, exclusive of these confessions, on the important information which the government was in possession of, prior to these confessions—which enabled them to come at the root of the conspiracy; and which demonstrates the mercy shewn these chiefs to be gratuitous; whose doom had been, else, certain; and whose confessions were not wanted, except for the purpose of convincing the deluded and unbelieving.

A short time previous to the breaking out of the rebellion, James O'Coigly, an Irish Romish priest, who was deep in the conspiracy, was convicted and executed in England, whither he had gone from Ireland, to forward the cause of the united traitors, pending the preconcerted rebellion and invasion.

An act was passed, authorizing grand juries to present any newspaper, containing seditious or libellous matter, as a nuisance; and also authorizing the magistrates, on such presentation, to suppress the paper, and seize and destroy the printing materials, &c. A paper called "The Press," was, therefore, suppressed, and some of its principal supporters taken into custody.

The great and acknowledged object of this rebellion was the separation of Ireland from the crown of England. Of the collateral objects, the reader will be able to form a tolerably correct estimate, from the following extracts; which will be found to preserve a very close chain of connexion with the previous historical facts, which I have given in this treatise.

Sir Richard Musgrave's History.—"James Beaghan, executed on Vinegar Hill, the 21th of June, 1799, for various murders, which, he said, he was instigated by popish priests to commit, confessed, 'that every man that was a protestant was called an Orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the poorest man in the country. They thought it no more sin to kill a protestant than a dog.'

Ibid—"It appears, on the evidence of different persons, that one hundred and eighty-four protestants were burned in the barn of Scullabogue," where they had been collected for the purpose, "and that thirty-seven were shot at the front of it."

Ibid—"Ninety-seven protestants were put to death on the bridge of Wexford, in the following manner:—two rebels pushed their pikes into the breast of the victim, and two into his back; and, in that state, writhing with torture, they held him suspended, until dead, and then threw him over the bridge into the water!"

The following, from the same author, is a description of the Carmelites, a religious order among the Romanists, which originated with some mendicant friars, who induced the popish multitude to believe, that an admission into it would ensure them eternal happiness.

"At their initiation they received a square piece of brown cloth, with the letters I. H. S. inscribed on it, which was hung round the neck with a string, and lying on the shoulder, next to the skin, was, from its situation, called a scapular. The price of it, on initiation, to the poorer class, was one shilling; to those who could afford it, higher in proportion to their ability. To it was ascribed protection from outward dangers and injuries—from the ghostly enemy—from a house, in which one of them happened to be, being consumed by fire—or of extinguishing one on fire, if thrown into the flames, while the scapular would remain safe."

"This soon became the signal by which those of the true faith were to know each other, and the rallying point for those devotees who carried on the croisade against the heretics; and a shop was opened soon after the landing of the French," (the 844 that landed at Killala,)

"where all the Sons of Erin, with their pikes in their hands, were supplied with scapulars at regulated prices!"

IBID—"One of the favourite toasts, at the convivial meetings of the rebels, was—'A total extirpation of the protestants.'

IBID—"A member of the Irish directory acknowledged, while in prison, that the alarming reports about the Orangemen were invented by them merely as a device to stimulate the mass of the papists against the protestants, and the priests eagerly adopted it for that purpose."

IBID—"An oath was found on board the Gladiator, by which the Irish traitors in the fleet, bound each other in the year 1798, to carry it into Brest, and afterwards to kill all protestants."

IBID—"It was often asserted in the committees, that a person would ensure salvation by killing a certain number of protestants:"—"that a Roman-catholic would certainly go to heaven, if he killed three protestants."

IBID—"Denis Sullivan and Daniel Keeffe, were convicted of having compelled Luke O'Brien, a soldier, with a cocked pistol at his breast, to swear that he would not be true to the king, because he was not qualified, or entitled to enjoy the crown."

IBID—"An oath exhibited to Phineas Hunt, Tipperary, for him to swear, contained an obligation to murder all the protestants in the kingdom."

IBID—"In 1797, during the spring assizes in Waterford, Doctor Hussey preached two sermons of an inflammatory tendency; and some time before, he said, in a sermon preached in a chapel in Dublin,—'You may talk of liberality as much as you will; but you may be assured of this, that no person can be saved out of your church.'

JACKSON'S NARRATIVE.—"The extinction of the protestant religion was the favourite idea of the great mass of the rebels, and their strongest motive to action. In the town of Wexford, protestant men and women were obliged to recant; and, with their children, were required to be baptized in the catholic chapel, after the Roman-catholic manner, and to attend mass. Even the protection granted by the priests to the protestant men

and women, after they had been thus baptized, was, 'Protect, in the name of Jesus Christ, A. B. he or she having been made a christian, and a member of the catholic church.' (Signed by the priest.)"

IBID—"At the battle of Three Rocks, before the town of Wexford was taken by the rebels, a priest, of the name of Murphy, marched at their head, telling them to follow him, and not to fear; for if they took up the dust from the roads, and threw it at the king's troops, they would fall dead before them. The rebel camps were constantly attended by numbers of priests, saying mass every day, and pretending to give charms which would prevent the balls of the soldiers from injuring them."

IBID—"That no compunction might arise in their breasts, on account of the murders they were daily committing, their priests assured them, it was ordained by God, and that it had been prophesied there should be but one religion, and that was to be the Roman catholic; so that, in destroying the protestants, they were performing a duty to Heaven."

TAYLOR'S HISTORY—"Each vied with the other who should put the greatest number to death. Among those sanguinary heroes, stand most noted the names of Fardy, Sinnott, Redmond, and Miskella, who trampled on the wounded bodies, and behaved otherwise so bloody, as to obtain for themselves the title of "the true-born Romans."

IBID—Copy of a priest's protection to the rebels, which he sold them, and which, by hanging about their necks, he said, "would make the person who wore it, proof against all the power of heretical artillery."

'INRI.'

+

'In the name of God, I H S and of the Blessed Virgin.'

AMEN.

'No gun, pistol, sword, or any other offensive weapon, can hurt, or otherwise injure the person who has this paper in his possession; and it is earnestly recommended to all women with-child, to carry it, as it will be found an infallible preservation against the fatality of child-bed.'

'No. 7601.' 'ROACH.'

IBID—" There was another oath taken by the papists, which the disaffected protestants and presbyterians knew nothing of; this was called the black test, and was as follows :—' Every Loyal Irish Protestant Heretic, I Shall Murder, And This I Swear.' Such as bound themselves under this oath, had a pass word, by which they knew each other any where they should meet. This pass word was the initials of the several words in the oath, and no individual knew this, but such as were sworn.—— 'ELIPHISMATIS' was the pass word."

IBID—Of the massacre on Wexford bridge, he says: " In the evening, Thomas Dixon assisted the murdering band, and immediately hoisted that harbinger of destruction, the *black flag*, which had on one side a bloody cross, and on the other, the initials, M. W. S.; that is, ' Murder Without Sin."

IBID—" The following notice was posted on the church door of Killashee, in the county of Longford, a few days after the French troops landed at Killala :"

" TAKE NOTICE,"

" Heretical usurpers, that the brave slaves of this island will no longer live in bondage; the die is cast, our deliverers are come, and the royal brute who held the iron rod of despotic slavery, is expiring; no longer shall one govern four. The old holy religion shall be re-established in this house, and the earth shall no longer be burthened with bloody heretics; who, under the pretence of rebellion, (which they themselves have raised,) mean to massacre us."

" The flow'r-de-luce, and harp we will display,
" While tyrant heretics shall moulder into clay."

" REVENGE! REVENGE! REVENGE!"

IBID—" While these were torturing, I thought I would surely be the next, as there was only one between me and death, when the Lord appeared in our behalf, by sending Mr. Corrin, parish priest of Wexford, to rescue us. When he came to the place of execution, he exclaimed—' Oh! what is it you are doing, desist from

shedding innocent blood, there has been too much of that already; you have lost your cause, and for God's sake shed no more: on which, these inhuman monsters exclaimed—'they are all bloody Orangemen, we will pike them, for this is the way they would serve us, if they had us in their power.' Mr. Corrin then took off his hat, and requested them to kneel down, and pray for the souls of the poor prisoners, before they would kill any more of them. They obeyed; and when he had got them in the attitude of devotion, he said, 'now pray, that the Lord Jesus may give you to feel that mercy for them, which you expect from him in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment.' This was successful."

Ibid—"The following articles of popish faith, were found in the pocket of Priest Murphy, who was killed at the battle of Arklow:"*

1st...'When we assemble, we cross ourselves, saying:—"We acknowledge these our articles, in the presence of Christ's vicar, our Lord God the pope, and in the presence of the holy primates, bishops, monks, friars, and priests."

2d...'We acknowledge they can make vice virtue, and virtue vice, according to their pleasure. Falling flat on their faces, they proceed in this manner, speaking to the Host, and saying:—"Holy, glorious, and admirable Host, we acknowledge it according to our good father, the pope, we must all fall down before the great effigy of our Lord God Almighty."

3d...'We acknowledge the supremacy of the holy father, the Lord God the pope, and that he is Peter's successor in the chair.'

4th...'We acknowledge that Peter has the Keys of Heaven, and that he will receive those only who acknowledge his supremacy.'

5th...'We are bound to believe there can be no salvation out of our holy church.'

* This writer observes, in a note, "these articles have also appeared in the last edition of Veridicus." I have not seen Veridicus. But they are to be found in Sir Richard Musgrave's history also.

6th...' We are bound to believe, that the late holy massacre was lawful, and justly put in execution against protestants, and that we should continue the same, as long as we can do it with safety to ourselves.'

7th...' We are bound to curse, ring the bells, and put out the candles, four times each year, on heretics.'

8th...' We are bound to believe that heretics can never be saved, unless they partake of that holy sacrament, extreme unction.'

9th...' We are bound to believe, that those who elope from our holy religion, are under the power of the Devil, whom heretics follow.'

10th...' No faith is to be kept with heretics, though bound by the most sacred oaths; for, says our holy father, they have followed damnation, and Luther and Calvin.'

11th...' We are not bound to believe their oaths, for their principles are damnation.'

12th...' We are bound to drive heretics out of the land, with fire, sword, faggot, and confusion; as our holy father says, if their heresy prevails, we are still to become their slaves. Oh! dear Father, keep us from that. (Here the holy water is shaken, and they say Hail Mary three times.')

13th...' We are bound to absolve, without any reward, all those who embrue their hands in the blood of heretics.'

14th...' We are bound to believe, that Christ's vicar, our Lord God the pope, can absolve all men, (heretics excepted,) and has given the like power to all his inferior clergy.'

15th...' We are bound to believe all the articles commanded by our holy church.'

16th...' We are bound to believe. that the Virgin Mary has more honour in Heaven, than any of the angels.'

17th...' We are bound to pray to the holy angels, that they may pray for us.'

18th...' We are bound to believe in the holy cross, holy water, holy spittle, holy earth, holy bones, holy people, and beads; and that they are to be used on certain occasions.'

19th...'We are bound to celebrate the holy mass in Latin, having ourselves clothed in a holy vestment and shirt, bearing the holy cross on our shoulders, signifying we are the very Christ.'

20th...'We are bound to believe, every time mass is celebrated, there is an expiatory for the living and the dead.'

21st...'We are bound to believe there are four places of Purgatory, viz. :—Limbus infantum, Limbus patrum, Meadows of Ease, and Purgatory.'

22d...'We are bound to believe that Christ was three days in Limbus patrum, where the souls of holy fathers go, till they get a pass with them to the holy Peter.'

23d...'We are bound to believe, that the souls of children unbaptized, go to the Limbus infantum, until original sin is well purged away, by the help of holy masses said for them.'

24th...'We acknowledge the souls of christians go to Purgatory, and remain there till we pray them out of it, that they may have the power to walk the Meadows of Ease with safety, till it pleases holy Peter to open the Gates of Glory for them, where no heretic shall ever enter.'

25th...'We are bound to keep Lent according to our clergy's pleasure, and to maintain the work of supererogation.'

26th...'We are bound to acknowledge the lake in the North to be holy, called Lough Darragh.'

27th...'We are bound to pray to no other saint on that day, only them to whom it is dedicated.'

28th...'We must baptize bells, and consecrate chapels; and no man to enter the holy office of a priest, only he who is known to be a man, after the harlot Joan.'

29th...'We maintain seven sacraments essential to salvation, viz. :—Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony.'

30th...'We maintain we can transubstantiate the bread and wine, into the real body and blood of Christ.'

31st...'We believe that heretics eat their kind of sacrament, to their eternal damnation.'

32d...' We believe that Christ is every where, but especially in our church.'

33d...' We maintain, that we cannot know any thing, without being in danger of judgment.'

34th...' We maintain, that heretics have neither the will of the prophets, nor of Christ.'

35th...' We acknowledge that the Rosary of St. Bridget is to be said once a week; and, lastly, that our holy church can never err.'

ANNUAL REGISTER, 1798.—" The rebels made an attack on the town of Enniscorthy, which they carried." ' The loyalists would have repulsed the rebels, had not the catholic inhabitants treacherously set fire to the town, to smother the troops who were defending it.'—*Jackson's Narrative.*

IBID—(Of Scullabogue Barn.) " The wretched victims who attempted to escape through a small window, were received on the pikes of the rebels, and thrown back into the flames."

IBID—" An almost indiscriminate system of plunder prevailed; nor were the leaders able to preserve the least order or discipline among their fanatical and licentious followers. It is a remarkable circumstance, that though the chiefs of the United Irishmen were evidently hostile to all religious establishments, the people were directly the contrary; and the majority of them engaged in the cause, professedly, because they believed, ' that the heretics, who had reigned upwards of one hundred years, were now to be extirpated, and the true catholic religion established.' Such protestants as joined the rebel army, were obliged to be baptized in the Romish chapels; and even Mr. Harvey, and the other chieftains, were compelled to attend mass; and, at least, outwardly, to conform to the rites of that religion."

REPORT OF THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1798.—It refers to a secret committee of the lords, in 1793, and secret committees of both houses, in 1797; declares, that the allegations stated in these, are fully confirmed by farther evidence, and subsequent events; and proceeds to state, that—" The

society of United Irishmen was established in the year 1791. Its founders held forth what they termed catholic emancipation, and parliamentary reform, as the ostensible objects of their union; but it clearly appeared, from the letters of Theobald Wolfe Tone, accompanying their original constitution, as transmitted to Belfast for adoption, that from its commencement, the real purpose of those who were at the head of the institution, was, to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and to subvert the established constitution of this kingdom."

"To deter the well affected from joining the yeomanry corps, and to render the administration of justice altogether ineffectual, the most active system of terror was put in operation. Persons enrolled in the yeomanry, magistrates, witnesses, jurors; in a word, every class and description of people who ventured to support the laws, became objects of the most cruel persecution, in their persons, property, and even in the line of their business; and multitudes were compelled to take their illegal oaths, and profess an adherence to the party, as a means of security."

The report farther states, the practice of several thousands assembling in military array, under pretence of saving corn, and digging potatoes, funerals, foot-ball meetings, &c.; but, in fact, to terrify the peaceable and well disposed, and to compel them to enter into their treasonable associations; with a view of displaying their strength; giving the people the habit of assembling from great distances, upon an order being issued, and making them more accustomed to shew themselves openly, in support of the cause.

The report farther states:—"From several authentic reports of their own proceedings, it appears, that considerable sums of money were subscribed, for the purpose of defending such of their associates, as should be brought to trial. That they had itinerant committees, who went circuit as regularly as the judges. That a bar of lawyers were retained, to undertake the cause of all persons in the gross, committed for state offences. Entries of money appear in their proceedings, as paid to procure, as well

as to buy off, witnesses: in many cases to gaolers, for being guilty of breaches of trust; and even to under sheriffs, for returning partial pannels. Hand-bills, to intimidate jurors, were circulated, and every species of indecent management practised in the courts, to exclude from the jury-box persons unconnected with their party."

"A new organization of the society took place in August, 1797."

The committee, in their report, refer to the examination, upon oath, before the secret committee of the lords, of Doctor M'Nevin, (a member of their executive directory,) for the detailed application of this new system, to military purposes.

The report then refers to the connexion of the party with the French directory, in Appendix, No. 31.

Doctor M'Nevin, in his examination, states, that "he was authorized to give France assurances of being repaid the full expenses of any future armament she might send to Ireland, as well as the last, which had miscarried; the same to be raised by the confiscation of the lands of the church, and of the property of all those who should oppose the measures of the party."

In one of the trials in Dublin, an expression of one of the conspirators came out, on the evidence of Captain Armstrong, of the King's County militia, one of the crown witnesses. "Mr. Lawless remarked," said Captain Armstrong, "that the trees to the right of the camp, would be very convenient for hanging people." Captain Armstrong also described the instructions given to himself, in his military capacity, by the conspirators, to have been, "that no other person was to be spared, who was not an United Irishman."

Before I proceed to the report of the secret committee of the lords, I think it expedient to give —— fabricated rules and regulations of the Orangemen, —— from Appendix, No. 26, of the report of the commons; together with the preliminary observations, from the same Appendix.

"As an instance of the arts used, to make the Orange association an occasion of exciting in the breasts of the

lower classes of catholics, the most malignant and vindictive passions, the following series of fabricated rules and regulations, intended to be considered as those of the Orangemen, are here inserted. The copy from which they are transcribed, was found in the house of Marlay, a taylor, in Hoey's-court; but similar copies were frequently found, both on the persons, and in the houses, of United Irishmen."

1st..." Resolved unanimously, that each and every member, be furnished with a case of horse pistols, and a sword; also, that every member shall have twelve rounds of ball cartridge."

2d..." Resolved, that every man shall be ready at a moment's warning."

3d..." Resolved, that no member is to introduce a papist or presbyterian, quaker or methodist, or any persuasion, but a protestant."

4th..." Resolved, that no man wear Irish manufacture, nor give employment to any papist."

5th..." Resolved, that every man shall be ready, at a moment's warning, to burn all the chapels and meeting-houses in the city and county of Dublin."

6th..." Resolved, that any man that will give information of any house he suspects to be an United Irishman's, will get the sum of five pounds, and his name kept private."

7th..." Resolved, that no member will introduce any man under the age of nineteen, or over the age of forty-six."

Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, 1798.—From Doctor M'Nevin's examination, before this committee, 7th of August, 1798:—" In a written memoir, taken by an accredited agent, to the directory, in France, containing the objects of his mission, according to the instructions he had received from the executive, it is mentioned, 'that the catholic priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated, of French irreligion, and were all affected to the cause. That some of them had rendered great service in propagating, with discreet zeal, the system of the union."

Ibid.—From the examination of Thomas Addis Emmett:—

"Question.—How do you account for the people being so loyal and well disposed, while the French were in Bantry Bay?"

"Answer.—About November, 1796, a messenger arrived here from France, who stated, that a descent would immediately be made with fifteen thousand men. In a very few days after this messenger had quitted Ireland, on his return, a letter arrived, which was considered as authentic by the Irish executive, stating the expedition was deferred until spring, when England would be invaded, and probably Ireland. This contradiction, then, threw the executive off their guard; in consequence of which, no measures were taken to prepare the people for the reception of the French army. The people were left to themselves."

IBID—From the information, on oath, before four magistrates, of Richard Grandy, farmer, 23d of June, 1798; who had escaped from the rebels.—"Saith, that he attended mass, celebrated by Edward Murphy, parish priest of Bannow; that, after mass, he heard said Murphy preach a sermon, in which he said, 'Brethren, you see you are victorious every where—that the balls of the heretics fly about you without hurting you—that few of you have fallen, whilst thousands of the heretics are dead, and that the few that have fallen, was for deviating from our cause, and want of faith; that this, visibly, is the work of God, who is now determined, that the heretics, who have reigned upwards of an hundred years, should be now extirpated, and the true catholic religion established.' And deponent saith, that this sermon was preached after the battle of Ross; and saith, he has heard several sermons preached by the priests to the same effect; and farther saith, that he has heard several of the rebels, who had been at the battle of Enniscorthy, and elsewhere, declare, that Edward Roche, the priest, did constantly catch the bullets that came from his majesty's army in his hand, and give them to the rebels, to load their guns with. Deponent farther saith, that any protestant who was admitted into the rebel army, was first baptized by a Roman-catholic priest, and that every protestant

who refused to be baptized, was put to death, and that many, to save their lives, suffered themselves to be baptized."

Ibid.—"The stale pretexts of parliamentary reform, and catholic emancipation, found ineffectual, it was represented to the people, that it was necessary to organize in their own defence; as their protestant fellow-subjects had entered into a solemn league and covenant to destroy them—having sworn to wade up to their knees in popish blood. And also, that their organization would lead to the abolition of tithes, and to a distribution of property, inasmuch as they would become members of a democracy which would govern the country."

I cannot conclude my extracts from this report, without stating a farther passage, in Doctor M'Nevin's own words, in his examination; which contains a very remarkable declaration.—"The intention was to abolish the church establishment, and not to have any established religion, but that all persons should exercise their respective religion, and pay their own clergy: for my part, I would as soon establish the Mahometan as the popish religion, though I am myself a Roman-catholic."

When the account of the rebellion reached England, the English militia made a voluntary and spirited offer of their services; to aid, with the other forces in Ireland, in suppressing it. In consequence, a message was sent by his majesty to the English parliament; and a bill was passed, enabling his majesty to accept the offer. As great a part of the regular troops as could be spared, had been already sent over: and some of the English militia and fencibles quickly followed. The efficient aid of these; the brave and loyal co-operation of the troops and yeomanry of Ireland; the timely proclamation of martial law throughout the whole country; the vigilance of the Irish executive government; the convictions; the developement of the conspiracy, by the confession of some of the conspirators; all contributed to the speedy suppression of the rebellion.

A remarkable and conspicuous feature, in the progress of this rebellion, presents itself. The unfortunate protest-

ant gentleman who had the chief military command in Wexford, retired from it, long before the confederacy was overpowered by the royal army, in deep disgust and with sincere repentance;—shocked and amazed at those diabolical cruelties, and savage murders of innocent and inoffensive protestants, which he had not the power to prevent or mitigate. From this command, he had for some time retired, before his apprehension.

In the speech of the viceroy, (Marquis Cornwallis,) to the parliament, the 8th of October, some time after the rebellion was suppressed, is the following passage.

"Religion, that greatest comfort and support of mankind, has been most wickedly perverted to the purpose of inflaming the worst of passions; and the vilest arts have been used to persuade the ignorant and unwary, that in a reign which has been marked by a series of indulgences to all sorts of christians, it is the intention of his majesty's government to oppress, and even to extirpate, that description of his majesty's subjects, who have received repeated and recent marks of his favour and protection."

It is not surprising that a charge of this wicked and false nature, as to the views of the Orangemen, to suit the malignant and sinister purposes of Jesuitical subtilty, should have been made, when the government itself has not escaped it. The government will, beyond question, as it did then, effectually, and as is its bounden duty at all times, resist, "with the utmost vigour snd decision," every attempt to overturn our happy constitution, and rob and murder those who support, and are well affected to it.

To this crime, of this presumption, the Orangemen plead guilty. True to their principles—true to their allegiance, (which taken in its legal and proper sense, allows not neutrality, much less treachery, for they cannot be *absolved* from this allegiance,) and, as "the great captain" expressed himself, "true to their oaths;" they will be always ready to co-operate with the government for this purpose; and to contribute their zealous and steady, but obedient and subordinate efforts, to defeat

any conspiracy against his sacred majesty, his crown and dignity, this free constitution, and the protestant succession in his majesty's illustrious house. To this, they are incited by the strongest of all inducements—their duty and their interest. The duty is obvious: the interest is of the most important and vital nature; involving every thing valuable in life, and even including life itself.—But any necessity of such farther proof of their fidelity, a second time, they sincerely deprecate.

I think it material to furnish the reader in this place, with the address of the protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen, to the loyal subjects of Ireland.

"TO THE LOYAL SUBJECTS OF IRELAND."

"From the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their king and constitution, and to maintain the laws:"

"We the protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but, openly to disavow those principles, and declare to the world the objects of our institution."

"We have long observed, with indignation, the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom, by the seditious, who have formed themselves into societies, under the specious name of United Irishmen."

"We have seen with pain, the lower orders of our fellow-subjects forced or seduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors."

"And we have viewed with horror, the successful exertions of miscreants to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence on the downfal of their country."

"We, therefore, think it high time to rally round the constitution, and pledge ourselves to each other to maintain the laws, and support our good king against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country,

and, by so doing, shew to the world, that there is a body of men in this island, who are ready, in the hour of danger, to stand forward in the defence of that grand palladium of our liberty—the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by the courage and loyalty of our ancestors, under the great King William."

"Fellow subjects! we are accused of being an institution founded on principles too shocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would shudder—but we caution you not to be led away by such malevolent falsehoods; for we solemnly assure you, in the presence of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one, on account of his religious opinion, never entered into our hearts. We regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his religion what it may; we have no enmity but to the enemies of our country."

"We farther declare, that we are ready, at all times, to submit ourselves to the orders of those in authority, under his majesty, and that we will chearfully undertake any duty which they should think proper to point out for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestic foe should presume to raise the standard of rebellion in the land; to these principles we are pledged, and in the support of them we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood."

Although the rebellion was subdued, and the traitors made to hide their heads, yet the spirit of it was not thoroughly suppressed; and is not yet extinct. This affords a melancholy proof of innate depravity: for the mercy shewn, when every thing was in the power of the government, would have warranted the hope of a happier result. To the mass of the people engaged in it, pardon was extended: nor were chiefs and leaders pursued, after the insurrection was crushed. Murderers only were the objects of subsequent prosecutions. The sincerity of repentance, and extent of gratitude, in rebels, the reader may appreciate, from the commencement of a proclamation by the king, the 16th of March, 1799.

"Whereas, we have reason to apprehend that divers persons, engaged in the treasonable conspiracy against

us in our kingdom of Ireland, which lately manifested itself in open acts of rebellion and war against us in our said kingdom, have not abandoned their treasonable designs against us; and, acting in concert with our foreign enemies, are preparing to assist our said enemies in an invasion of our kingdoms, and for that purpose are endeavouring to stir up rebellion and war against us in this kingdom: &c." The proclamation then directs, that no person shall be permitted to pass from Ireland to England, except those in the king's service, or who shall obtain passports from the viceroy, or his secretaries, the mayors or magistrates of towns, or generals of districts. Those disobeying, to be taken into custody, to await the king's pleasure.

To this, I think it applicable to subjoin some passages, from a report of a secret committee of the English house of commons in 1799.

"The persons principally engaged in it," (the mutiny in the British fleet,) "even in its early stages, were many of them United Irishmen. The mutineers were bound, by secret oaths, to the perpetration of the greatest crimes. An attempt was made to give to the ships in mutiny, the name of 'the floating republic."

"The priest, O'Coigly, and another priest who had fled from Ireland, were the principal persons who had opened the communication with the United Britons."

"Many Irish, ordinarily resident here, chiefly among the lowest classes of the community, have been gradually induced to become members of this society. But the most active part consists of those Irish rebels who have fled to this country; rendered desperate by their crimes, not daring to return to Ireland, and either unable to make their way to the countries subject to France, or not receiving sufficient encouragement to attempt it, they remain here, waiting for the opportunity of executing those violent and desperate projects to which they have become familiar. And they appear to be under the direction of some persons of a higher class, who sometimes furnish pecuniary aid, and form the committee, by means of which a constant correspondence is carried on, through Hamburgh, with France."

In 1800, the union of the British and Irish legislatures was arranged and completed; which took place the 1st of January, 1801.

The 20th of March, 1801, the earl of Westmoreland, who had been viceroy in Ireland, thus expressed himself in the united parliament:—"Catholic emancipation had long been the watch-word of rebellion in Ireland. It seemed not to be considered, that the catholics were now admitted to a participation of all the privileges of the constitution; that they were only excluded from holding about thirty places of public trust, and from sitting in parliament. Their lordships ought well to weigh how much they would have to do, if they proceeded to take off these inconsiderable inabilities. Were they aware that it would then be necessary to meddle with the Toleration Act, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, and probably the Union with Scotland."

It has been stated, that hopes had been held out of the catholic claims being granted, in the event of the union of Great Britain and Ireland taking place. I think it necessary, therefore, to give a passage from a speech of Mr. Pitt's, in the imperial parliament, the 25th of March, 1801, soon after his resignation of his office, which he had filled with so much credit to himself, and service to his country.

"All I shall say, is, that though I wished to submit the catholic question to parliament, there were such objections stated, as convinced me it was impossible for me to bring the measure forward as a minister. These are the words I chuse to use; and no admissions nor denials shall be extorted from me. Should the opposition infer that it was the sovereign who had impeded the measure, and therefore dismissed his ministers, or that the ministers themselves had desired to resign, conjecture will prove no fact."——"The sovereign exercised his opinion on the sentiments, as well as the capacity of his ministers; and if he judged either unsuited or incompetent, it was the prerogative, nay the duty, of the crown to dismiss them. If a minister felt he ought to propose any measure, and yet was convinced that success was impossible, it was

proper for him to retire; but in proportion to the reluctance with which his resignation was permitted, ought to be his love for such a sovereign. Towards the best of monarchs, he trusted he was not deficient in gratitude or duty; nor did he doubt but the motive of his actions would be justified during the whole of his reign."

In the course of his speech, Mr. Pitt denied that the catholics had received any pledge; and said that he "was authorised to deny that even the catholics supposed they had received such a pledge: an expostulation was natural, but a pledge was never given."

I must here make a few remarks. Complaints have been made by the Romanists, or, which is the same thing, by their expositors, that they were deceived into approbation of the measure of the union, on a supposition that their claims would be subsequently granted. Nay, the pledge has been stated to have been given. Here, then, is the denial of such pledge: and the *onus probandi* would necessarily lie on those who assert it, of its actual existence. This proof has not been given. It is not, therefore, too much to assume, that no such proof can be given. But, to take the argument in another view, suppose that what was not given, though falsely asserted to have been given, had been really given: to what could it amount?——Would the pledge of any minister, nay, of any human being, be of any avail, in a matter of this nature? This question, perhaps, can be best answered, by proposing another. Would any individual, however high or elevated, be competent to give a pledge for a measure, involving material changes in the established constitution in church and state, which pledge should tie down the three estates, king, lords, and commons, to accede to it?——This supposition, which flows from the idea of a pledge, is so very absurd, that a man of far less talents than Mr. Pitt was, could hardly be suspected of entertaining it, which he must have done, if he had given such a pledge. But it is only of a piece with all the rest of the sinister machinations, and collusive logic of the "talented" party from which it has emanated. The calumny does not even partake of so deep a colour, as

being directed against a subject, as another, of a similar nature, directed against an illustrious personage, high in the esteem, and secure in the confidence and attachment of the vast majority of well affected subjects in the united empire; against a character exalted far, far beyond the impotent efforts of such foul-mouthed slanderers, by his strict sense of honour, his fortitude, talents, integrity, and forbearance, much more than by his pre-eminent and supreme rank; which rank alone should have secured him, by all the laws of God and man, from any charges, though even as literally true, as they were shamefully and barefacedly false.

This part of the subject reminds me, and will bring to my reader's recollection, the dinner anecdote; in the course of which, an old talkative gentleman, greedy of ephemeral popularity, entertained his entertainers with one of his amusing old stories; wherein he asserted, that another elevated and venerable personage had expressed himself, to him, in a conversation some years back, in words, touching "the catholic question," which I chuse not to repeat. The reader will either remember the substance of them, or must, if he chuses to come at them, search the newspaper reports for himself. I have only to remark, first, that the words, so affirmed to have been spoken, were, in their order of time, attributed to a period subsequent to the Relief Bills of 1778, 1782, 1792, and 1793. Secondly, that the tale does not agree with the known constancy, and much admired constitutional principles, of the upright, and in spite of the sneers of ignorance and faction, learned and able personage therein alluded to: which principles directed the dismission, on the 24th of March, 1807, of the then ministers, for pressing on him this very question. Nay, the tale is broadly and demonstratively contradicted by that celebrated event. But, perhaps the facetious orator did not recollect this trifling circumstance. The exact time of the developement has not a little puzzled my un-illuminated head. Why did not Mr. L*******r make this important communication at a time when the exalted personage, therein mentioned, was not incapacitated, by his lamented illness, from dis-

cerning its truth or falsehood: however reply may be justly considered inconsistent with his high station?—Umph—conscience, thou art but a slippery jade!—No doubt, the anecdote would then have lost the exhilirating grace of novelty, which co-operates with the enlivening effects of Champaigne, in materially contributing to the social "brotherhood of affection," in relieving the dull uniformity which cramps the genius of plain matter-of-fact men, and in enabling amiable, companionable, liberal, witty, and talented individuals, to push the zest of an evening's entertainment to the zenith of sublime incomprehensibility. Before I dismiss this part of my subject, I think it due to the respectable and peaceable society, to which this gentleman affects to belong, to give a quotation, (and I chuse to give it in this place,) from the Belfast Magazine, in 1811, volume the eighth.

"The people called quakers generally refuse to sign," (a petition in favour of emancipation) "and, in an instance where the right of private judgment was exerted, censure was thrown on the person who subscribed the petition by some of his more rigid brethren. This is the tyranny of a sect, exercised on the right of private judgment. The language is, 'Do not meddle in any act of a party. The society ought to be so grateful for the many favours they have received from government, as not to do any thing displeasing to them.' If the favours conferred had been greater than they are, for quakers certainly labour under many disabilities and inconveniencies, on account of their religious sentiments, and which in justice ought to be remedied, in common with all other restrictions on opinion, it is a completely selfish motive to decline to assist others in the restoration of their rights, in gratitude for exclusive benefits conferred on themselves, and, as to the cant word of party, it ought to be remembered, that party means an association of a number of persons, for the purpose of attaining some end; and before party can be condemned, the purposes to be accomplished ought to be considered. A party is either good, bad, or indifferent, according to the ends they have in view. Doubtless, many of this society, if they followed their individual

inclination, would join in an act of justice to our catholic brethren: but the fear of the censure of a coercive discipline, and of the power of a church, a principle strongly inculcated on them, and with no sect possessing greater influence, restrains the spontaneous acts of the individuals. It is a blessing to be emancipated from the Bastile of a sect, and to be at liberty to exercise an independent judgment, unbiassed by the opinions of popes, councils, convocations, general assemblies, or yearly meetings."

I shall leave to the penetration of my readers, to fathom the design and scope, in any and every view, of this very insidious paragraph. But, (as the only matter from which it could have claimed notice, or required insertion, here,) I submit, and, to the judicious and impartial, I may safely submit, on the part of the society of friends, commonly called quakers, whether this be not sufficient proof of a disclaimer, on their part, of such kind of interference as is exhibited in the conduct of the gentleman above alluded to.

The Union was considered a measure of the utmost importance, for the safety of Ireland, and the protection of its loyal inhabitants, in the conservation of its connexion with the crown of Great Britain. This has been the most general opinion throughout the empire; it includes the sentiments of the majority, whether as to numbers or respectability; and is supported by this strong consideration, that no interests could be reasonably assumed to exist, or could properly be allowed to exist, in competition with the paramount interests and safety of the state; which necessarily involve the safety and protection of its well affected inhabitants, and do not necessarily take into account any particular or sinister interests of any other description of inhabitants, less zealous in the great requisite of patriotism, so much talked of, but so little understood. The safety of the state is the supreme law: and it is properly so: for, let this be once overturned, nay endangered, and its adherents may bid a long farewel to their religious liberty, and also to their civil laws, rights, liberties, properties, and even lives; or, at best, life would not be worth the purchase, in

surrendering all things which constitute its value; and which our bountiful Creator hath given us richly to enjoy.

I feel myself bound to observe, that there were some, of unquestionable loyalty, of pure motives, and of real talents, who opposed the union. But such have been since convinced of its utility. And for the comfort of some well-meaning, but more ignorant individuals, there is no substantial reason to fear, that the United parliament will ever impose on Ireland, which is known to be wretchedly poor, compared with England, any burdens which she may be unable to bear, or to suppose that it has laid on any, which the general exigency, in the long and arduous struggle for independence, nay existence, would not have compelled her own parliament to have imposed, in case it had existed, throughout the tremendous conflict, up to this happy and glorious æra of its termination.

But, thanks be to the great and merciful God, whose superintending and preserving providence directs, rules, and governs all events, both in this present state of existence, and in all "the varied modes of endless being;" this vital measure, the union, is now placed beyond the power of cavil: and the brightest consolation awaits those, who have been patient in enduring unto the end, the inevitable burdens, inseparable from the long external war, and the no less unavoidable and expensive efforts in keeping under the evil genius of domestic treachery. The stable basis on which our national security now stands, affords the best grounded hope of opening prosperity. The general consolidation of separate and heterogeneous governments, as well as interests, by the union of the legislatures, as well as sceptres, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, into one condensed, independent, and united empire: the consequent accession of strength and safety to the empire: this empire, with the aid of honourable and illustrious allies, under the countenance and favour of the Most High, enabled to suppress the last perfidious efforts of French banditti, which the diabolical ruffian, their late chief, termed glory: and the consequent clear prospect of the return of peace, good order, and security, to which we have been so long

strangers: all conspire to point out an æra of prosperity, now commencing, unequalled in our annals.

In the year 1803, the malignant spirit, which it was reasonably to have been hoped that the mercy before granted would have quenched, rather than encouraged, broke out again, in open rebellion, in the city of Dublin. The attempts made in the north of Ireland, to incite its inhabitants to join in this, failed: and the insurrection was confined to the city of Dublin. It burst forth suddenly, with every appearance of temerity and infatuation, at nine o'clock on Saturday evening, the 23d of July.—But it had been planned in concert with the French ruler, Buonaparte, then first consul, who had, with his characteristical perfidy, and satanical subtilty, by the treaty of Amiens, entered into a peace, or rather truce—short, hollow, and delusive, for the direct purpose of obtaining a more effectual opportunity of prosecuting such nefarious views. For a comprehensive account of this, I refer the reader to the Annual Register for 1793.

By the bravery of even the few troops, who, on the sudden emergency, could be collected from the nearest places to Thomas-street, in which the rebels took their station, the spirit of this insurrection was, almost immediately after its breaking out, effectually damped; for the conspirators, whose number at the onset was small, calculated on the hope of progressive accumulation, before the opposing force, on the sudden surprise, could muster. And the insurrection was completely subdued before twelve o'clock the same night: previous to which, the military had poured in from all quarters. The rebels were put to flight, with the loss of great numbers killed, and some taken, who were executed.

With malignant ingenuity, the rebels had despatched a forged summons to the learned and venerable Lord Kilwarden, lord chief justice of the king's bench, to attend a council in the evening. Lord Kilwarden, and the Rev. Mr. Wolfe, his nephew, passing through Thomas-street, in a carriage, to the castle, were barbarously dragged from the carriage to the ground, and covered with wounds from the pikes of the savages; whose enormities, the

reader will recollect, Lord Kilwarden had, in 1796, when attorney-general, endeavoured to restrain, by the introduction of the Insurrection Act. Before Lord Kilwarden expired, (his nephew had first died,) he was rescued by the police and military. This truly noble and upright judge, faithful unto death, hearing some expressions as to the punishment of the rebels, breathed his last with the constitutional request—"that no man might suffer but by the laws of his country!" Colonel Browne, repairing to join his regiment, on the first alarm, was, in like inhuman manner, murdered. Every passenger, who was not murdered, was forced to join the rebels, and armed with a pike. Showers of bottles and stones, from houses in Thomas-street, directed at the king's troops, aided the efforts of fellow rebels in the street, with their more offensive and murderous weapons.

In 1805, the first discussion took place in the imperial parliament, on the Romish claims. In the petition from the Irish Romanists, after enumerating the particulars of the oath which they do take, they instance, as proof of their regard for oaths, that which they will not take; and state, "that however painful it is to their feelings, that it should still be thought necessary to exact such tests from them, (and from them alone, of all his majesty's subjects,) they can with perfect truth affirm, that the political and moral principles, which are thereby asserted, are not only conformable to their opinions, but expressly inculcated by the religion which they profess."—Here, I must observe, in this, the first and most moderate petition presented to the imperial parliament, what is wanting in violence, is supplied in sophistry. It is true, that the oath to which they point, as "painful to their feelings," is not required from protestants, for that would be supererogatory, to the last degree of absurdity, when they take the oath of supremacy, which Romanists will not take. Nay, protestants will take it without offices of state.

I shall give a few quotations from this debate:

Lord Viscount Sidmouth—"Agreed with the noble secretary of state (Lord Hawkesbury) that restraint had

produced a quiet and orderly conduct in the Irish Roman catholics, which had led to a relaxation of that system, and thence the evils of rebellion which followed."—He quoted the authority of Clarendon to prove, "that the rebellion of 1641 was occasioned by the Roman catholics having possessed themselves of corporations;" and asserted, from Doctor Troy, "that a cabinet of cardinals now sits at Rome, to conduct the ecclesiastical concerns of Ireland."

Lord Redesdale—"Such was the state of the catholic hierarchy, that he must deprecate any increase of their power. They already possessed an authority of great extent; an authority, too, enforced by the most dreadful means—that of excommunication. He knew, indeed, an instance, where a poor person who had been excommunicated, would have actually starved, if it had not been for the benevolence of a protestant divine, who supplied him with subsistence. There was another instance of the exercise of this extraordinary power: two catholics were married by a protestant clergyman; this being heard by the parish priest, he reported it to the bishop. The persons who had been married, were immediately summoned to appear before the catholic vicar general of the diocese; and the protestant clergyman, consulting the peace of his parish, and perhaps his own safety, with that of the parties summoned, advised them to submit to the summons. They accordingly waited on the vicar-general, and expressed their contrition.—But no, the vicar-general was inexorable; and this couple was excommunicated, for having been married according to law. But this was not all—such as should have any communication with them, were to be excommunicated also. The man, however, being a person with whom many were in the habit of communicating, it was reported to the bishop, and above two hundred persons, men and women, were, from twenty miles distance, summoned before the vicar-general. They obeyed; but the vicar was so much appeased as not to impose the excommunication. He, however, inflicted a penance, which was, that each person should perform a pilgrimage of thirty miles; that is, from what are called holy wells, in Ireland,

to another, each bearing a label, specifying the cause for which the penance was imposed."—His lordship states an instruction of Doctor Hussey's, to prevent some Romish servants from joining in prayers in a protestant family, where it had been practised, "that its being read by a heretic was sufficient."——His lordship then cites the oath, "which was, notwithstanding the objection of the apostolical vicar, subscribed by the catholics in England, in 1778, while the same oath, namely, a test of allegiance to a protestant succession only, was refused by the catholics of Ireland."

Lord Viscount Carleton—"In Ireland, the Roman catholics hold regular ecclesiastical courts, whose decisions are completely enforced by ecclesiastical influence, lay submission, and the all powerful effect of excommunication, prohibiting all intercourse with persons excommunicated. Their spiritual jurisdiction draws to it temporal power and influence; it involves dispensations, licenses to marry, legitimacy, and the right of succession, as dependent on the validity of marriage, pre-contract, former marriage, affinity, and consanguinity; as incapacities, maintenance, and liability to debts, as consequences resulting from marriage; divorces, as dissolving the bond of marriage; and the validity of wills of personal estate. In all these instances, the exercise of spiritual authority influences temporal rights. The extent of that influence is liable to be greatly increased, as Roman catholic ecclesiastics claim the right of deciding what are spiritual matters within their cognisance, and by an undue exercise of that claim of power, they may greatly extend their influence over temporal objects. Were Roman catholics possessed of temporal power, they must (acting conformably to the principles of their sect,) use it to legally enforce Roman catholic ecclesiastical decrees; to give increased importance to their religion; to depress the protestant religion; to legalize a foreign supremacy, that of the pope, with all its claimed temporal consequences; to overthrow the constitutional supremacy of his majesty, with all its now enjoyed temporal consequences; and to obstruct the execution, or procure the repeal, of all our

laws, which relate to spiritual affairs, howsoever extensively affecting temporal rights. It would be highly dangerous to afford the means of futurely weakening, in effect, that supremacy of the king, which is already openly denied in theory. A participation of equal power, must take all pre-eminence from the established religion; in such case, how is the king's supremacy to be maintained? What is to become of those acts of parliament, which render it penal to deny that supremacy? Is every attempt to invade it, to be rendered legal? Is a right to be conferred, of denying it without control, and of obstructing it with impunity, and perhaps success? The ulterior views of the Irish Roman catholics, may be strongly collected from the caution used in framing the oath, in the thirteenth and fourteenth of George the third, chapter thirty-five, in which they have adopted the expressions, 'the succession of the crown in his majesty's family;' declining to adopt the expressions which the English Roman catholics had no hesitation to make use of, in the thirty-first of George the third, chapter thirty-two—'which succession is limited to the Princess Sophia, &c., and the heirs of her body, being protestants.' In the one case, the oath binds to the support of a protestant succession; in the other, it leaves an opening for the possibility of a Roman catholic succession."——"Not many years ago, maps of the Irish forfeited estates were industriously circulated on the Continent, an indication that some important object was looked at for attainment; and that it was desirable to conciliate foreign catholic potentates, with a view to the success of that project. Since the union, it has been openly avowed, 'that the revolution was an usurpation; the exclusion of Roman catholics from seats in parliament, an excess of the power of the legislature; that the old Roman catholic proprietors never had offended; that the confiscations were unjust, and that the present possessors held by usurpation, and ought to be dispossessed.' Of what avail would the disclaiming of Roman catholics be, if they acquired power to enforce their claims, when they have already, since their supposed disclaimer,

though not yet possessed of sufficient power to establish their demands, revived their claims to the forfeited estates? How have their stating specific objects, as exclusive of all others, in various transactions of the year 1792, prevented unqualified demands in 1794, and down to the present period? Letters, in 1792, by Byrne, to the several parish priests of Ireland, directed that delegates should be elected by their several parishes, to sit in a Roman catholic convention. The convention was assembled. It resolved, 'that the objects of their pursuits, were merely admission to the bar, county magistracies, serving on juries, and voting for members of parliament, out of freeholds of twenty pounds per annum.' The adoption of the innovation now proposed, would new model the constitution, would violate the principles of the reformation, the revolution, the act of settlement of the crown, and the two acts of union; might substitute the pope's supremacy, in the place of his majesty's; might discontent the protestants, unsettle property, revive mischiefs, and destroy the present establishment in church and state."

The bishop of St. Asaph—"If it was dangerous for a protestant to possess influence in a catholic state, much worse must it be for a catholic to do so in a protestant state; because in spirituals, he acknowledges the pope, and it is not always easy to separate spiritual from temporal obedience."

In the house of commons, Dr. Duigenan said—"In the opinion which he entertained, as to the propriety of at least keeping the Irish catholics within the bounds of the present laws, he was supported by the high authority of that eminent lawyer, Judge Blackstone, who said, that the restraints which were laid on the catholics were to be considered as the principal bulwark of the existence of a protestant church and a protestant government in this country."

The motion for a committee was rejected by majorities, in the lords of one hundred and twenty-nine, and in the commons, of two hundred and twelve.

In 1807, the upright, able, and temperate man, whether viewed in the character of statesman or of warrior,

who is now duke of Wellington, (then Sir Arthur Wellesley, chief secretary in Ireland,) found it necessary, from the state of the country, to introduce into parliament a renewal of the insurrection act. He proposed its continuance for seven years. This was loudly opposed by the opposition members: who, not being able to deny the necessity which compelled its enactment, proposed a period little exceeding one year. Mr. Perceval, (then a short time the leading member of that more steady administration, which our upright monarch had found it necessary to select, when he dismissed the old, in March, that year,) thinking, however, that a shorter period than the seven years might answer: the time of its expiration was fixed for 1810.

Mr. Grattan (24th of July, 1807) said, "He was assured by his right honourable friend near him, (Mr. Elliot, the late secretary for Ireland,) that there were, in various parts of Ireland, secret nocturnal meetings of a dark and dangerous nature."

Again, (27th of July,) he re-stated, "that he had been informed, that there were held in Ireland treasonable meetings, for the purpose of organizing a force to assist the French. The bill was to put down the French interest in Ireland, not to oppress the Irish nation. He did not mean to accuse his countrymen of treason or disaffection, but he was certain that there was a French party in Ireland. It was against them, and not against Irishmen, that the operation of the bill was directed; and sooner than run a risk of losing the constitution altogether, he would take upon him his full share, in common with his majesty's ministers, of the responsibility which would attach to the measure."

Again, (13th of August,) he said, "his right honourable friend, Mr. Sheridan, had said, that there was no just ground for passing the insurrection bill; and yet, had not his right honourable friend admitted, that there was a French party in Ireland? He allowed the justice of that statement."

In 1810, when this act ceased to be operative, the salutary effects of its restraining property were instantly

missed. The scenes which have since occurred, are too recent in the recollection of my readers, to require minute recapitulation. Besides, such would be too voluminous for the limits of this treatise.

In a debate in the house of lords, June the 6th, 1810, on a Roman catholic petition, Lord Clancarty, who had premised himself to have been favourable to their claims, but, "that late events had shaken his favourable opinions," proceeded to observe:—"By their own conduct, they had fortified every objection against their claims, and restored to their full vigour the dying prejudices, which, though the ancient misconduct of those of their communion had legitimately created, modern professions on their part, and modern liberality on the part of the protestants, had almost extinguished."——"Can those safely be admitted into the confidential offices of the state, or into the legislature, who assert in practice, although they deny in theory, a power utterly inconsistent with the independence of the state? Can they be deemed safe guardians of our ecclesiastical establishments, who have of late shewn such bitter enmity to our church?"—His lordship adverted to resolutions adopted by the Irish titular bishops, 26th of February, 1810, and contained in their address to the clergy and laity of the Roman catholic churches in Ireland: The first of which is:

"Resolved, that it appertains to the order, charge, and spiritual authority of bishops in the catholic church, and is inseparable from their mission, to propose, entertain, and judge, without any lay intervention, on points of christian faith, and of general discipline."

"Now," he said, "I will undertake to say, that there is not in any country on the globe, whether under a Roman catholic, or protestant government, any body of Roman catholic bishops, who would, at this day, presume to arrogate to themselves, much less who would dare to execute, powers co-extensive with those assumed by the Irish titular clergy, by this resolution. Surely it was not necessary for their lordships to be told, that the discipline of a church, and especially the Roman catholic church, involves much matter of temporal concern; and,

consequently, that the assumption of an exclusive power, to propose and judge, without lay intervention, on points of discipline, is a direct assertion of a temporal authority, assumed by the Irish titular bishops, to the exclusion of the throne, the government, and the legislature of this kingdom."

For many other momentous points in this able speech, I beg to direct the reader's attention to the speech itself, which is copiously reported in the seventeenth volume of the parliamentary debates. But I request particular attention, in this place, to a very important fact, for which I must go back a little in the order of time. On the 14th of September, 1808, resolutions were passed by the titular bishops assembled in synod, one of which will be found to have been in perfect consistency with the resolution of 1810, just quoted. It is thus worded:—

"Resolved, that it is the decided opinion of the Roman catholic prelates of Ireland, here assembled, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of Irish Roman catholic bishops; which mode, by long experience, was found to be unexceptionable, wise, and prudent."

So far, so good, as to consistency. But mark, reader, the words of a resolution passed, among others of the titular bishops, in January 1799:—

"Resolved, that in the appointment of prelates of the Roman catholic religion, to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of government, as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to."

I have preferred the plan of inserting these here, rather than in the order of their respective periods, that the reader may not lose the effect which is produced by immediate comparison. The anomaly contained in the flat contradiction, in the two resolutions of 1808 and 1810, to the resolution of 1799, all three signed by nearly the same individual prelates, in Dublin, I shall leave to these bishops to reconcile. I only touch here on the inconsistency. To the subject of the veto itself, as security

for what is termed emancipation, I shall give a place in my concluding remarks. But, I must say here, that no friends to the constitution will deny the truth of the candid admission, "that such interference of government, as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to." And I must also say, that this position of the synod will stand by itself, uncoupled with "catholic emancipation."

As, then, the truth of this position stands established, by the admission of "competent expounders;" and, as it is, also, obvious to reason, so it is quite in unison with law, which allows not *imperium in imperio*. And as, in a constitutional and legal view, encroachments on the supremacy and authority of the state must be guarded against in their incipient stages, it is not only criminal to act on a principle of usurpation of power, distinct from the authority and supremacy of the state, but it is illegal and unconstitutional also, even to assert it. And very properly so: for, were it not for this security, the rights and liberties of the subjects would become a farce, dependent on the inspired consistencies of their graces, lordships, &c., who constitute the Romish hierarchy, in the regular chain of gradation, and strict subordination to their "lord the pope." The determination, I apprehend, does not lie with "the most reverend and right reverend prelates," whether the assumption of temporal authority over any part of his majesty's subjects, (suppose Romanists,) shall be legal and constitutional, even although "catholic emancipation" be never granted.

In the same debate, in 1810, the earl of Buckinghamshire, who had been chief secretary in Ireland, in 1792, when the Romish claims were rejected in the Irish parliament; and, in 1793, when these claims had been granted, said:—"His majesty's ministers were desirous to conciliate the catholics; and had been led to believe, that the grant of all they then asked, and which was more than the most sanguine of them expected, would have that effect. But, on the contrary, the result was extended demand, and clamorous dissatisfaction. And the same British ministers having, in 1795, appointed a

noble lord, (Fitzwilliam,) chief governor of Ireland, were obliged to recall him, on account of the irritation produced by the steps he had taken, with a view to exempt the catholics from those oaths which the rest of his majesty's subjects are required to take, in order to qualify themselves to sit in parliament; and, when that measure was brought forward during the administration of his successor, (Lord Camden,) it was rejected in the house of commons by a large majority."

Of the occurrences of 1811, the first I shall notice, is a speech made by the Right Honourable William Wellesley Pole, then chief secretary for Ireland, in the house of commons, in defence of the measures which the Irish government was compelled to use, when these measures were questioned by the opposition members. This speech has been published in a pamphlet, and to this document I refer my readers. I shall, however, extract such material passages, and compress such others, as shall give a brief view of its import.

"The catholic committee appointed in 1809, was composed of the thirty-six representatives of the different parishes of Dublin, who, on a previous occasion, had formed a similar committee; the remnants of the committees that prepared the petitions of 1805 and 1807; and, finally, of the surviving delegates of the catholic convention of 1793, and the noble lords who compose the catholic peerage."

He describes the resolutions passed by this committee, in 1809, as strong and vehement; but such, however, as did not seem to call for the notice of government. But the proceedings of 1810, he describes as more violent. An aggregate meeting was assembled the 2d of November, at which a resolution was passed, "that the catholic committee should have the sole management of catholic affairs."

"On the 21th of November, the catholic committee met again, and Lord Fingal was called to the chair. Of that noble lord, it is hardly necessary that I should state, that he is one of the best men among the Roman catholics, and one of the best and most loyal men in Ireland.

At that meeting, a motion was made, for a vote of thanks from the catholics of Ireland, to Lord Donoughmore. The impropriety of discussing a question of that kind, in a committee appointed solely for the purpose of preparing a petition to parliament, struck Lord Fingal, and he stated his doubts upon the subject, to the committee; and, though he heartily approved of thanking Lord Donoughmore, desired to be informed, whether the committee was competent to do any thing but prepare the catholic petition? His lordship was answered by Mr. O'Connell, who reminded the committee, that the last aggregate meeting had removed all doubts upon that subject, by their resolution empowering the committee to conduct all the affairs of the catholics of Ireland. Mr. O'Connell's opinion, with respect to the general powers of the committee, accorded with the sense of the members present, and the resolutions were carried unanimously."

I must stop here to observe, that this opinion, when opposed to the united opinions of all the legal, constituted, "ordained" authorities, is just entitled to about as much weight, in a legal and constitutional sense, as the opinions of the synods of 1808, and 1810, as to their own authority in general discipline. It is not from aggregate meetings that the laws of the land emanate.

"The committee, about the middle of December, appointed a committee of grievances."

"In the mean time, the catholic committee continued to meet from week to week, and sometimes twice a week: they adopted, as far as they could, all the forms of the house of commons. Their debates were attended by short hand writers, and were published regularly in the Irish newspapers."

"About the beginning of January, a member of the committee stated, that the committee of grievances had nearly prepared their report, which consisted of three hundred folio pages."

"In December, a resolution was agreed to, desiring the secretary of the committee to correspond with some gentlemen in the country, who were friendly to their

views, but not a word was said about any election. Afterwards, a guarded resolution was adopted, stating, that an augmentation of the number of the committee was desirable, and that the management of that augmentation should be vested in a sub-committee. Still, however, not a word of the circular letter, until the 19th of January. On the 23d of January, the Irish government became possessed of the fact, that such a letter had been written by the secretary of the catholic committee, and that several answers had been received thereto; but of the nature of the letter, or of the answers, they were wholly ignorant."——"To shew, however, what was the nature of the augmentation suggested in December, I beg to state the opinion of one of the members; who declared, that when, to the thirty-six representatives of parishes, ten members should be added from each county, the whole would make a greater number than he had ever seen at any aggregate meeting."

"With regard to Mr. Hay's circular letter of the 1st of January, the Irish government never saw it until the 10th of February."

I shall here, before I proceed with Mr. Pole's statement, give the import of this letter, as I consider it too long to insert entirely. It is addressed from Edward Hay, secretary to the general committee of the catholics of Ireland, sitting in Dublin, to the catholics of the different counties throughout Ireland. It states "the imperative necessity of an increase of their numbers, so that there may be managers of the petition connected with every part of Ireland."——"It is," it says, "highly desirable, that the committee should become the depository of the collective wisdom of the catholic body; that it be able to ascertain, in order to obey the wishes, and clearly understand the wants, of all their catholic fellow subjects."——"They (the committee) beg leave to suggest to you, the propriety of appointing ten managers of the petition in your county. There are now —— survivors of the persons who were delegates in the year 1793; these persons are already constituent members of the committee, and, as such, managers of the petition; so

that you have to appoint only —— additional managers." They are cautioned to keep within the spirit and letter of the law, and not to resort to election, or appointment to represent any person or persons, or any district or districts whatsoever, in the nomination of the managers.

Mr. Pole proceeded:—"On the 10th of February, then, the Irish government obtained a copy of this circular letter; and, at the same time, received private information of the most secret nature, that several thousand copies of that letter were circulating in Ireland; that many members of the augmented committee had been returned; that some of them had actually arrived in Dublin; and that the whole of them were expected to arrive time enough for the meeting of the 16th of February, or at latest for that of the 23d. We were also informed, that the letter had been penned by the lawyers belonging to the catholic committee, and that great pains had been taken to keep within the letter of the law, and to avoid incurring its penalties; the object being to obtain a complete representative body from all the counties of Ireland, under the pretext of assisting in managing the petition. It was also stated, that when all the members had arrived, and the catholic convention had assembled, it would be kept sitting, for the purpose of diffusing throughout Ireland the flame which the committee had raised in Dublin. The Irish government also received information of the mode in which the elections had been, and were to be, conducted. One main object, it appeared, was to secure secrecy; and names were sent down from Dublin, of particular persons resident in that city, whom the committee recommended to be returned as delegates from certain places; and, by this contrivance, it was expected that a full attendance would always be secured."

"The meeting which came within the purview of the convention act, was one which claimed the sole management of all the affairs of the catholics of Ireland; and was composed, not only of the members delegated by the aggregate body of the catholics, to frame a petition, but

by others elected under writs issued by the persons so delegated."

The following is a copy of the circular letter written by the command of the lord lieutenant, to the several sheriffs and chief magistrates of the principal towns throughout Ireland:—

"*Dublin Castle, February 12th*, 1811."

"SIR,

"It being reported that the Roman catholics in the county of —— are to be called together, to nominate or appoint persons as representatives, delegates, or managers, to act on their behalf as members of an unlawful assembly, sitting in Dublin, and calling itself 'the catholic committee;' you are required, in pursuance of the provisions of an act of the thirty-third of the king, chapter twenty-nine, to cause to be arrested, and to commit to prison, (unless bail shall be given,) all persons within your jurisdiction, who shall be guilty of giving, or having given, or of publishing, or having published, any written or other notice, of the election or appointment, in any manner, of such representative, delegate, or manager, as aforesaid; or of attending, voting, or acting, or of having attended, voted, or acted, in any manner, in the choice or appointment of such representative, delegate, or manager. And you are to communicate these directions, as far as lies in your power, forthwith, to the several magistrates of the said county of ——."

"N. B.—Sheriffs are to act under the warrant of magistrates, in cases where the crime has been committed."

"By command of his grace, the lord lieutenant,"

"W. W. POLE."

On this circular having been issued, a violent outcry was raised by that part of the press which is considered more immediately the Romish organ. The Dublin Evening Post of the 21st of February, 1811, alluding to the committee having been called therein, "an unlawful assembly," thus expressed itself:—"This allegation is

grounded on the 'convention act.' It can have no other foundation. The convention of 1792, which sat, before the passing of that act, was composed of delegates and representatives, deliberately and publicly chosen to represent the different counties and great towns in Ireland. It sat in despite of the threats and proclaimed menaces of government, and of almost all the grand juries in Ireland."——It then goes on to state, that "it was—the want of a law that prevented proclaiming the catholic convention—what W. W. Pole has styled the humble committee, 'an unlawful assembly.'"

Here is an admission of the lengths to which the "catholic convention" of 1792, had then arrived, out of the mouth of one of its most accredited and zealous expositors; furnishing, (if apology were necessary in passing an act for the peace of the country, thus invaded,) the most efficient apology, in the boasting and braving statement of the excesses which imperatively compelled it.

On the 23d of February, the "catholic committee" met. The very name was assumed, too, in their own subsequent report, published. Two magistrates, Alderman Darley, and Mr. Babington, were sent by the government, to disperse it. Lord French, who had been called to the chair, "assured the magistrates, that that meeting was not the catholic committee; that he sat as chairman of no committee, but as chairman of a meeting of catholic gentlemen, for the purpose of signing and forwarding a petition to parliament;" and proposed, that the nature of the meeting should be explained to Mr. Pole. This reference, the magistrates at length consented to. On the assurance given, the government agreed not to interrupt them.

In a debate in the commons, on the 23d of May, 1811, on the Romish claims, Sir John Cox Hippesley, baronet, adverted to late publications by Doctor Milner, a prelate of the Romish church, "condemning the resolutions of the English catholics, at tending to the security of the established church." Here, it is true, is conduct on the part of English Romanists, calculated to produce impressions highly favourable to their principles: but

here, it is no less obvious, is a "competent expounder," endeavouring to correct that doctrinal obliquity which indicates such manly and emancipated minds, in these "truant sons of the church." But, which opinion, that of the English Romanists, or that of Doctor Milner, has been most generally sanctioned in Ireland, both by the Romish clergy and laity? I say, most generally; for it is not to be doubted, but that there are candid and honourable members of both, that would be an ornament to any communion. But I will venture to assert, in this seeming paradox, that such do come nearer to protestantism, than those of its own professed members, who join in the vociferous din of "catholic emancipation." The idolizing eulogies bestowed on the doctor, who holds his office and title of "apostolical vicar," immediately from his "Lord the pope;" and the salutary "discipline" of abuse, on the English "apostates," render any proof, in the way of answer to the foregoing question, quite unnecessary.

In the same debate, the Right Honourable Doctor Duigenan said:—"A great stress has been laid on the answers of the foreign universities, upon a point of the doctrine of the catholic church. He did not, however, attach much weight to those answers, when they were contrary to the recorded articles of the catholic faith. He recollected how often history had spoken of the opinions of universities obtained by bribery."——"As to the number at which the Irish catholics were stated, he was convinced that it was a great exaggeration. The whole population of Ireland did not exceed three millions and a half, and one million and a half of these were not catholics." "Doctor Troy, the catholic bishop of Dublin, had stated in a pamphlet, that the supremacy of the pope was the bond of catholic unity. As the supremacy of the pope was therefore an article of faith, they did not venture to take the oath of supremacy, although he supposed, that they would not hesitate at taking any other sort of oath. It was a doctrine of their religion, that oaths taken with heretics, were absolutely null and void. (No, no, from many members.) He should say, yes, yes;

it was a doctrine of their belief, and he did not doubt, but that it would in many cases be the rule of their conduct. Doctor Milner himself had stated, that oaths were to be judged of by expediency; and, for simply quoting this from his book, last year, he had been grievously abused."

The Right Honourable Spencer Perceval said:—"That toleration might be claimed as a right, he did not mean to dispute; but that there would be any right to political power, in consequence, was a proposition he should contend against, to the utmost. Political power was not the right of an individual; it was a trust to the individual for the interests of the whole. That power, he thought, if granted, would naturally be applied to the destruction of the established church."——"The church establishment should be maintained in the whole kingdom, and not be endangered in any part of it. It had been asked, how this evil could happen, whether by force or by influence? He would say, that it might happen in consequence of the course in which the honourable gentlemen on the other side, were proceeding, when they sat in the situation which he and his colleagues at present filled, by granting gradually, until all was given away."

Mr. Whitbread said:—"The right honourable gentleman's intolerance had hindered the recruiting service. For these three years past, the catholics had not enlisted. The priests had prevented them, and no wonder."——"His right honourable friend, (Mr. Grattan,) had said, that he had authority to concede it, (the veto,) and with this he was now taunted. Why, he thought he had authority; he thought Doctor Milner one worthy of trust, because he was a man held in general esteem. What Doctor Milner now appeared to be, all must know. His right honourable friend had been deceived; but he had rather be the deceived, than the deceiver."

A debate in the lords was brought on the 18th of June, 1811.

Lord Redesdale stated:—"That a reverend gentleman had put the question, while the measure of the Union was in agitation, whether it was intended to remove the

disabilities of the catholics? and that the answer was—that there was no such intention."——"The great statesman who retired in 1801, (Mr. Pitt,) did not assign to him, (Lord Redesdale,) as the reason for that proceeding, the impossibility of fulfilling a pledge to the catholics; and, as to the plan of security, he had only to state, that the person to whom he alluded, had declared to him, a few months before his death, that he had no plan; and that he could conceive no plan whatever, by which a sufficient security could be provided for the established church, in the event of the catholic claims being granted."

The lord chancellor said:—"The revolution of 1688 was founded on a belief, that certain tenets existed, which precluded persons holding them, from power, and the existence of those tenets was now denied. We had therefore been guarding the constitution by various laws, and now we were told that supremacy meant nothing."

I return now to the proceedings in Dublin. An aggregate meeting was held on the 9th of July, 1811. Of the resolutions passed, the fifth was:—

"Resolved, that said committee do consist of the catholic peers and their eldest sons, the catholic baronets, the prelates of the catholic church in Ireland, and also, ten persons to be appointed by the catholics, in each county in Ireland; the survivors of the delegates of 1793, to constitute an integral part of that number, and also of five persons to be appointed by the catholic inhabitants of each parish in Dublin."

A work entitled, "the state of the catholic cause," published at Fitzpatrick's, Capel-street, the very house where the catholic committee had always assembled, states as follows:—"In pursuance of the foregoing resolutions, several of the parishes assembled, and appointed persons to manage petitions to parliament, on behalf of the catholics of Ireland; and the counties had began to assemble for a similar purpose, when, on the 30th of July, the following proclamation issued from the privy council, then sitting in Dublin castle."

This proclamation, by the lord lieutenant and council, first recites the provisions of the convention act; next

states, that at an assembly of persons held in Dublin, on the 9th of July, styling themselves "a meeting of the catholics of Ireland," certain resolutions (which it quotes,) were, among others, entered into; and then declares such proposed assembly to be "not only in direct violation of the provisions of the statute aforesaid, and an unlawful assembly, but tending directly to endanger the peace and tranquillity of the state;" commands all subjects in Ireland to "abstain from all acts and proceedings contrary to the provisions of the aforesaid statute;" and requires all magistrates to "proceed in due course of law, to apprehend and hold to bail, all persons against whom information on oath shall have been obtained, of having given, or published, or caused to be given, or published, any written or other notice" of elections, or appointments of representatives or delegates, or of having voted, or acted, or who shall be found voting or acting, in such appointment, "that the person or persons so offending, may be prosecuted according to law; and in case an assembly of such delegates or representatives, shall hereafter attempt to meet, in defiance of the law, and notwithstanding this proclamation, that they shall proceed to disperse the same, as an unlawful assembly, pursuant to the directions of the aforesaid statute."

A meeting of the committee was held the very day after the proclamation was issued, namely, the 31st of July. From a long speech of Mr. Scully's, I select the following curious passage:—"It is but candid, at the same time, to admit, that they" (the resolutions which caused the proclamation,) "might have been more circumspectly framed; the words actually adopted by the convention act, might have been avoided, such as 'appointed, &c.;' and other words, equally useful, might have been selected. Some circumspection might have steered the meeting clear of the convention act. The sense of the meeting was, I am persuaded, to steer clear of its spirit and restriction, and to petition only; and I did regret, that the wording of the resolutions had not been more technically guarded."

Mr. Scully, however, then pronounces, at some length, his opinion, that the resolutions "are justifiable in law."

This meeting, in the teeth of the act of parliament, and the prohibitory proclamation grounded on it, was denominated, in the published report of its proceedings, "The general committee of the catholics of Ireland:" and its sitting was trumpeted, by the braggadocio who writes in their official paper, in all the figures of impotent menace, which language could afford, short of actual high treason. Of this, the reader may take the following short specimens, which I select from a variety.

"Subsequent to the appearance of William Wellesley Pole's proclamation, an extraordinary sitting of the committee took place: of the debate and resolutions we give a full and accurate report."—"The election of managers to the catholic committee proceeded yesterday in Mary's parish, without interruption, notwithstanding the proclamation of William Wellesley Pole."—*Dublin Evening Post*, 1*st of August*, 1811.

The reader will here perceive the artifice in endeavouring to delude the peaceable and respectable part of the Romanists themselves, into a belief, that this was the sole, as well as illegal, act of the secretary; whereas the lord lieutenant, the lord-chancellor, and the attorney-general, are equally responsible: and for what?—For the performance of their bounden duty, in pursuance of the law of the land.

Again—"A crisis like the present, when the right of the subject is attacked—when the catholic, already enslaved, is insulted—when the last refuge of the wretched, the privilege of humbly petitioning for redress, is attempted to be taken away—when an intolerant administration have rashly stepped in between the prince and the people, risking the popularity of the one, and casting a new infliction on the other—when all is at stake, and much is in danger, it becomes the bounden duty of every print, possessing a character of independence, to speak out boldly, and not to bow, even for a moment, to the threat of power, or the petulance of office."—*Dublin Evening Post*, 6*th of August*, 1811.

Again—"The proclamation is issued, only to be laughed at—and the arrests have taken place, to increase, it should seem, the honest, manly, constitutional spirit of the Irish people. The catholics continue to meet—they appoint their delegates to the general committee."——*Dublin Evening Post, 13th of August,* 1811.

Again—"It is, no doubt, frightful to the intolerant, to the pensioner, and to the factious, to see the catholic bold and upright, unawed by the frown—unintimidated by the threat of power."—*Dublin Evening Post,* 17*th of August,* 1811.

Again—"It is with an honest pride—it is with feelings anxiously alive to the liberty, peace, and prosperity of the country, that we again congratulate the friends of freedom, on the manly, constitutional spirit that pervades Ireland. Centuries of slavery, of insult, and oppression, have not, thank heaven! so far lowered or debased our catholic fellow subjects, as to make them crouch beneath the unconstitutional mandate of a little intolerant minister —Had the catholics of Ireland shrunk from their great duty—had they fled before the slovenly circular of the secretary—had they bowed in silence and in fear to the proclamation, they would have been unworthy the rights and privileges they so fairly seek."—*Dublin Evening Post, 20th of August,* 1811.

The circular ascribed to the secretary, was written "by command of his grace the lord-lieutenant;" with the advice and co-operation of the lord-chancellor, and the attorney-general; and in obedience to an act passed by king, lords, and commons, the paramount and constitutional authority: to which the popish parliament has by this time discovered, (time and events having, thank God, improved their experience,) that they must bend.

Again—"We have already had occasion to dwell with heartfelt satisfaction on various meetings of our catholic countrymen—meetings that will adorn the page of the future historian of these times—meetings which posterity will contemplate with rapture, while they turn with indignation and disgust from the hated names of those who proclaim the country and persecute the people."

Here, the *patriotic* writer has left out of his calculation the other species of historians, who boast not of conformity with his creed; who take the liberty of judging for themselves; and who rest their arguments on facts. He has forgotten that the press is, at least, equally free to those who undertake to remove rubbish, as it is to those who heap it: to those who know the legitimate rights of free subjects, living in a land of real liberty; who, knowing, will maintain; and who, unintimidated, dare to detect illusions; as it is to those who basely impose them: to those who endeavour to undeceive the ignorant and unwary, as it is to those false teachers, whose counsels lead to footsteps, the end of which is death!

The outrages had already compelled, this year, the appointment of a special commission, the regular return of the assizes not having been found sufficient to meet the system. It was held in the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, and Kilkenny. Numbers were convicted and executed.

A very wise measure had been resorted to, by parliament, to preserve the public peace; namely, passing a bill called "The militia interchange bill:" and a number of Irish regiments were stationed in England, and of English regiments in Ireland. On this subject, the Dublin Evening Post thus expresses itself, 24th of August:—"Neither can an army of English militia turn him (the catholic,) from the pursuit of those measures which can alone raise him from slavery to freedom." It says, 31st of August—"The great cause which now agitates the country is not of a partial, but of a general nature." Here this "talented" writer uses a very appropriate term to describe the horrid and lawless state of civil society, in that country which his own *pious* and patriotic labours had so eminently contributed to "AGITATE."

Again, September the 10th—"The nation speaks with one voice, and must be heard."

Again, September the 12th, he communicates *friendly* advice to ministers—"that it would be more wise, as well as just, at once to concede all the immunities, all the political power, so reasonably, so constitutionally de-

manded, than, by persevering in measures of intolerance, of exclusion, and injustice, to drive an united people to despair."

Again, September the 19th—"If the unanimity of a people in pursuit of freedom, be the great step to its attainment, Ireland must be emancipated!"

The reader will have perceived, in the quotation of 13th of August, the allusion to arrests. For the information of such as may not have attended to the political phænomena at this time, I think it necessary briefly to sketch, that the lord chief-justice issued warrants, on the 8th of August, stating, that on the 9th of July a number of persons assembled at Fishamble-street, and resolved, that a committee, &c. should be appointed, for the purpose or under the pretence of preparing petitions, &c.; and that he had received informations on oath, that on the 31st, divers other persons assembled in the Roman catholic chapel in Liffey-street, for the purpose of appointing five persons, to act in such committee as the representatives of that parish; that Edward Sheridan was appointed one of the representatives, and Thomas Kirwan, Gregory Scurlog, Henry Edmund Taaffe, and Doctor John Breen, were four of those who acted in such appointment: and commanding these to be brought before the court of king's bench, to be dealt with according to law. They were arrested on the 10th; and, bail having been entered, the trial of Edward Sheridan, Esq. M. D. came on, the 21st of November. I shall refer my readers to the public report of this trial. He was acquitted. The verdict has been called an "immortal verdict." I shall not presume to give any opinion. The only remark I shall make, is, that to the judges alone it belongs to decide, declare, and pronounce the law; to the exclusion alike of counsel's or jury's opinion. Facts alone come within the exclusive province of a jury. For the law on the case, I shall give such authorities, as, I apprehend, will have sufficient weight with those who are not immediately interested in believing, or affecting to believe, the opposite opinion.

First, the attorney-general's:—"The meeting, in the first instance, becomes illegal, independent of any

act they should do after they are assembled. This position is established by the second section."

Oh! but, (it may be asserted,) this gentleman is the public accuser. Well—be it so—has he accused falsely? Read, impartial reader, the section to which he alluded; and then, let your own reason assist your conclusion: whether, in his own comprehensive and condensed words, "It is made a high misdemeanor for any person to attend and vote at such election or appointment, or by any other means, vote or act in the choice or appointment of such representatives or delegates, or other persons to act as such?"

Next, the solicitor-general's:—"He would direct the attention of the jury and the court to the only two things which he thought were forgotten—the law and the fact of the case. He was of opinion, that the counsel for the traversers had really supposed the judges and the jury to have changed places; for the judges were addressed as to the facts, and the jury were called upon to give their decision upon the law. The jury have, in truth, nothing to do with the law—and the judges should not have the smallest concern whatever in the verdict on the facts of the indictment."——"The counsel themselves had allowed the fact on their cross examination of the witnesses.—Why should they, then, attempt to make the jury disbelieve it? He protested he did not know which of the counsel, on the other side, to answer: the one had denied the possibility of proving the actions; the other had openly confessed them, and gloried in them."

"He took notice of the statute of Charles the second, against tumultuary petitioning: the title of this act, and that of the act on which the traverser is indicted, are the same; only that the specific object in each is different. Both the one and the other was made to prevent the evil which was peculiar to the country for which it was enacted;—that for England, to prevent tumultuary petitioning, because that was the object which was there considered as mischievous;—for Ireland, to prevent delegation, because self-created conventions were the bane of this country. The acts are the same, this

difference being excepted: would not, then, the same words be used in the same sense in each? They certainly would. Pretence had been considered to mean real purpose on all the occasions in which the English act had been put in practice, and it must likewise, therefore, be so understood here."

"Mr. Burrowes had said, that these meetings were not within the scope of the act, because they did not represent the people in the same sense in which the parliament did; because they did not levy taxes, and make laws. This was but a futile objection; if they began to levy taxes, and to make laws, they would entirely usurp the rights of parliament. This was not the intention of the statute; the meetings must not be allowed to go so far; they must be checked ere they come to such a pitch."

Lastly, the opinions of all the judges of the court of king's bench, in the lord chief justice's charge to the jury:

"The act does not profess to say, that it was intended to suppress conventions, meeting with a criminal intention; and, to this day, an assembly might meet, and not be guilty of any criminal act, and be only illegal under the operation of this statute. But it was the meeting of an assembly, however fair or innocent their motive, that was considered by the legislature criminal and dangerous, from the very nature of the constitution of such conventions. It was not because they were fair intended, but because, from their very formation, they possibly might be injurious; and the remedy which the legislature takes, is to declare the existence of them unlawful, and authorizes the magistrates to disperse them; and this must be the only operative construction of the act, for the second section declares the publishing a notice to meet to be a high misdemeanor; and makes it a substantive offence, attending and voting at any election of persons to serve in the same; and it would be impossible that this section of the act could ever apply, if it was to depend on the question, whether the assembly met on a true or false pretence, which would be a transaction long subsequent.

So that unless the legislature meant it to extend to all representative assemblies, save those particularly excepted, these enactments of the second section would be absurd, and nonsense: and, what would shew that absurdity greater, if the pretence was to be a false pretence, is, that the act empowers the peace officer to force his way into any such assembly and disperse it. Is the peace officer to be a judge of the truth or falsehood of the pretence of the meeting? or is he to wait until the pretence, the false pretence of the meeting is disclosed, and then disperse them, while they are dispersing themselves, and the object of the meeting has been obtained?—So that, if the acts of the assembly were only to bring it within the operation of the statute, the remedy would seem to me to be strangely imperative."

"The act has done nothing, unless it has prevented the meeting of all delegated assemblies, whether meeting for the purpose of petitioning or otherwise. It remains then, if you do believe that the traverser, Dr. Sheridan, did act in the election of Mr. Kirwan, nominated to the general committee, and that such committee was for the purpose of altering any matter, by petition, or otherwise, in the church or state, you will find him guilty; for it is our opinion, that the fact of his assisting at that election, whether it was for the purpose of petitioning or not, would not put him out of the operation of the statute."

The other three judges expressed their unanimous concurrence in this opinion.

Thus I have given, not only the opinions of the learned and upright men who competently fill the high offices entrusted to them, but also the solemn judgment of all the judges of the king's bench; and I shall ask, who can successfully dispute this authority? If the word authority be understood as power, to the king's bench belongs the power: for this is the legal and constitutional tribunal; and the act of parliament is plain and express: if as opinion, let reason decide, maugre all pretences or purposes.

It is, therefore, the fairest assumption, that this jury, composed confessedly of respectable men, acquitted Dr.

Sheridan, because they did not think the fact sufficiently sustained by evidence.

Another jury, however, found a verdict of guilty, against Thomas Kirwan, Esq., in the beginning of the next year. This variation, in a similar case, probably arose from a more explicit exposition of the FACT: for it cannot, with safety, be assumed, that it arose from the quibble on the words "*pretence*" and "*purpose;*" involving a law point, previously decided by all the judges of the king's bench; and with which, both juries had been assured, by these competent authorities, that they had nothing to do.

Mr. Kirwan's sentence was, in effect, but a nominal one, to establish the law beyond cavil. He was fined a mark, and discharged.

An assembly had taken place, termed, "The county of Dublin catholic meeting," on the 19th of September, 1811—the Honourable Thomas Barnewall, in the chair. The work entitled the "State of the catholic cause," reports the chairman to have said:—"The spirit of discord had begun to subside in the country;—we were endeavouring to forget the disastrous epoch of 1798, and of 1803, whilst we breathed a sigh on the ashes of the victims of those days of sorrow, &c."——"The political horizon brightened upon us, when an act, odious in its misapplication, like a baneful tempest, clouded this propitious dawn all on a sudden!——"

This work also reports Colonel Talbot to have said, at the same meeting: "You have not much to expect from the candour or wisdom of the prime minister," (Mr. Perceval,) "if you only recollect the declaration which he made, 'That he stood in the house of commons to oppose a commutation of tithes, parliamentary reform, and catholic emancipation."

This work also reports Mr. Finlay to have said, at the same meeting: "His folly" (Mr. Pole's) "has kindled a flame in the country, which nothing but emancipation can extinguish. The metropolis called upon the country, and the country has obeyed the call."——"The city of Dublin first raised the shout, that roused the land, and

now the county of Dublin comes forward to feed the cry, and freshen its echo."——"I say, this act is virtually repealed."——"Numerous statutes are not in force, though not repealed."——"Why are these records of legislative folly, or executive cruelty, unrepealed? I know not why, and care not wherefore; but this I know, they are not repealed, and they are not in force."——"Had the ignorance of such miscreants led them to interrupt (as is too probable,) the peaceful exercise of this undoubted right, and had any scuffle ensued, in which an unoffending catholic had lost his life—no judge, but a Jeffries, that would not charge it to be murder—no juror, but a perjurer, that would not find it to be murder—and no viceroy, but a villain, that would not refuse to such convict, a pardon."

What miscreants?—The act of parliament "requires mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, or other peace officers, to disperse, &c." I shall not undertake to say, whether Mr. Finlay be a protestant; but this I will say, that it would be very difficult to persuade me to depend on his arguments, as a logician, or his opinion, as a lawyer.

In another place, he says:—"Let lawyers argue the law, and do you trust in their interpretations so far, and so far only, as they convince you.—Submit, I say, your reason to their arguments, but don't submit your rights to their authority."

How far the first and third parts of this compound proposition, agree with the second, is, I own, to me quite mysterious. If Mr. Finlay confine the idea to lawyers exclusively, who are not judges, the first and third I am not then inclined to dispute. But I shall certainly not take Mr. Finlay's advice in the second; I shall not submit my reason to his arguments. I will not believe (and I flatter myself I shall not stand alone in my belief,) Mr. Finlay's doctrine, regarding the duties of judges, juries, and viceroys. Perhaps the converse of the propositions, regarding judges, juries, and viceroys, may be more reasonably, as well as more legally and constitutionally laid down—That the judge would be a Jeffries, who should charge a magistrate with murder to a jury, for

obedience (both his and the magistrates bounden duty,) to an act of parliament: that the juror would be a perjurer, who should find such, murder: and that the viceroy would not be a villain, who should use the king's prerogative, in pardoning him.

Perhaps, too, the following extract, from a speech reported to have been spoken by Mr. Finlay, at an aggregate meeting, in Galway, may be serviceable in assisting the reader's judgment, in determining how far it indicates protestantism:—"Mr. Canning has told the house of commons, that they should grant emancipation, in order to take the people out of our hands, in order to vex the agitators. With all my heart. I strike the bargain on that condition. Let them give you emancipation, to vex us; and then, perhaps, some of us may find our way into that house, to vex them."

The general committee had met on the 19th of October. Mr. Hare, assistant lawyer of the castle division of the police establishment, dispossessed Lord Fingal of the chair; and, afterwards, Lord Netterville, who had been called on to take his place; and called on the meeting to disperse. It accordingly dispersed.

On the 26th of December, an aggregate meeting "of the catholics of Ireland" was held. Eleven resolutions were passed, from which I make some selections.

"Resolved, that it appears to us, that the general committee of the catholics of Ireland, appointed and assembled for the sole and constitutional purpose of preparing petitions to the legislature, on behalf of the catholic people, and possessing the confidence, esteem, and reverence of Irishmen, of all religious persuasions, have been forcibly and illegally obstructed and outraged, by the orders of his grace, Charles, duke of Richmond, the present chief governor of Ireland, in conjunction with other persons exercising the civil government therein, and their prominent legal advisers."

"That in the measures pursued by the administration of Ireland for some years, we have observed, with regret and indignation, a spirit of exasperating intolerance, arising from the impolicy of these rulers, as well as from

their ignorance of the country they have undertaken to govern."

"That the measures springing from so improvident a spirit, call forth the loud and unqualified reprobation of his majesty's Irish subjects."

"That it befits the catholics of Ireland, upon every principle of honour and prudence, fortified as they are by the first principles of the constitution, and supported by the solemn verdict of a jury, not to submit, in silence, to this monstrous perversion of law, and unwarrantable abuse of temporary power."

They appoint a board to prepare an address to the Prince Regent, when the restrictions should cease; and at the same time appoint the general committee to meet on the 28th of February, 1812.

This meeting did not take place on the 28th of February, but an aggregate meeting, termed, "of the catholics of Ireland," did. Six resolutions were passed, of which the first was:—

"Resolved, that the general committee of the catholics of Ireland, appointed in pursuance of the resolutions of the aggregate meeting of the 9th of July last, deserve and possess the confidence of the catholics of Ireland; but while we are strongly impressed with the conviction that the said committee does not come within the letter or spirit of any penal law, yet we recommend to them not to meet or interfere, as a committee, with our petition, until the question lately raised on the convention act be decided."

In the fourth, the individuals composing the board, are requested to collect subscriptions, to defray the expenses attendant on the petitions.

The fifth was:—

"Resolved, that it is of the greatest importance to the success of our cause, and we strongly recommend it to the gentlemen, declared to possess the confidence of the counties, cities, and towns in Ireland, either to draw up separate petitions, or to adopt that of the catholics now assembled, and to transmit the same, without loss of time, through the medium of their representatives in parliament,

in the name and on behalf of their several counties, cities, and towns."

In 1812, the system of robbing arms was revived; the county of Down was disturbed by rebels, under one of their various denominations, "Threshers;" "Carders" assumed to regulate the price of land; and disturbances proceeded to an alarming degree in Tipperary, &c.

On the 21st of April, a debate was brought on in the house of lords.

Lord Redesdale said:—"That this unfortunate persuasion existed, there was the highest authority to prove; men of the first intellectual powers, Mr. Locke, and others, had admitted, that the catholics denied salvation to any persons out of the pale of their church. The tone of the catholics now, was very different from what it had been at the commencement of the concessions to them, which were received in the spirit of amity and good will; but the moment they gained a standing place, they assumed the language of menace and intimidation." He then alluded to "Ward's Errata of the Protestant Bible," a new edition of which had been lately published.

The earl of Liverpool, adverting to excommunication, said:—"It gives the power of personal confinement, and corporal punishment, to the persons exercising it; and, therefore, no man will say that it is not a temporal power. I will next call your lordships' attention to the important powers of absolution and auricular confession. I do not direct your lordships' attention to that power, as it is understood in its spiritual effects, but to the temporal power with which it invests the priesthood of Ireland; and it gives more temporal power and authority to those persons among the populace, than can be claimed by the state." He then referred to "the Roman catholic authority of an Irishman, and a priest, at the present day; a person of most respectable character, and great learning. That learned man states, 'that there is a great deal of flesh and blood in this spiritual power; that the bishops claim the power of imprisoning, in episcopal matters; of whipping, and other tortures; of settling the fees of the

inferior clergy on baptism, &c.;' and will any man state that these are not powers of a temporal nature?"

In the house of commons, the debate was brought on the 23d of April.

Doctor Duigenan, adverting to 'emancipation,' said: "It goes to annul the act of uniformity, and also the test and corporation acts, passed in the reign of Charles the second. Every able lawyer, Mr. Justice Blackstone, and others, speak of the act of uniformity, and the thirteenth of Charles the second, as the bulwarks of the constitution."——Adverting to numbers, he said:—"The only thing like an authentic calculation, that has been made upon this subject, was from the return of the hearth-money collectors, in Ireland, some years back; and the calculation then made, was at an average of six persons to a house; and at this average, instead of the catholics amounting to four millions, the whole population did not exceed two millions six hundred thousand."

Of the Irish militia, he observed:—"One half the privates of the Irish regiments, and almost all the officers, are Irish protestants."

Sir J. Hippesley said:—"In 1791, the Roman catholic bishops of Ireland addressed the see of Rome, representing the prejudices excited by a reference to the oath in question; the words '*hæreticos persequar et impugnabo*,' in the oath of Romish bishops."——"The pope directed the congregation *de propaganda fide* to be convened; a tribunal then consisting of a cardinal prefect, and twenty-two other cardinals; and the result of their determination, sanctioned by the pope, was immediately transmitted to the archbishops of Ireland. Much surprise appears to have been expressed by that tribunal, at the objections taken to the oath. The titular archbishops were reminded of the explanation formerly given of the same oath, to the late titular archbishop Butler, to similar objections raised by the bishop of Cloyne; and the strained, persecuting construction of the words '*hæreticos persequar et impugnabo*,' was therein pointedly disavowed by Rome. The official document contains also the memorable words, that 'the see of Rome never taught, that faith is not to

be kept with the heterodox; that an oath to kings, separated from the catholic communion, can be violated; or that it is lawful for the bishop of Rome to invade their temporal dominions. We, too, (it adds,) consider an attempt against the life of kings and princes, even under the pretext of religion, a horrid and detestable crime.' It then proceeds to state the legitimate construction of the pontifical oath; but adds, that as the oath has been so grossly misrepresented, the Roman catholic prelates in Ireland are allowed, in future, to make use of the same form of oath, as was directed to be taken by the archbishop of Mohœlow, in Russia, in which the words '*hæreticos persequar et impugnabo*' are wholly omitted, by express authority of the pope. The oath thus substituted, concludes with this pointed declaration:—'I will observe all these things the more inviolably, as I am firmly convinced that there is nothing contained in them, which can be contrary to the fidelity I owe to the most serene king of Great Britain and Ireland, and to his successors to the throne.'"

Of the answers of the six universities, he said:—"Upon examining the tenor of these documents, and more especially the most explicit and valuable of them all, (Pope Pius's letter,) we shall find little reason to be satisfied. They deny and they disclaim too much. It is not that their church does not, at this day, hold such and such doctrines, but that it never did: it is not, that their church does not arrogate to itself such and such powers, but that it never did. Now, will history bear them out in this? Will their own councils and decrees bear them out? In this view, it is not only as to veracity, that the whole statement become suspicious."

The Right Honourable Mr. Yorke said, (adverting to the controversy that arose between the apostolical vicar of the Romish church, and the Roman catholic committee:)—"It was brought up by the direction of the committee, and in a very little time there were no copies to be had. The two letters published by the Roman catholic committee, were written in consequence of the letter of the apostolical vicar, in the year 1790, on account

of the oath it was proposed by the Roman catholic committee to take, in which they denied altogether the temporal authority of the pope in Ireland, and even his spiritual power, *sub modo*. Upon a reference to the proceedings of the Roman catholics on that occasion, we shall see how much they were controlled by a foreign spiritual authority. The oath proposed by the committee, was founded on their own protest, in which they called themselves the protesting Roman catholics. It was signed, I believe, by almost all the respectable Roman catholics in this country, and by a great many of the bishops: I think the name of Doctor Milner was among them. But the apostolical vicar, without assigning any reason, forbad the catholics to take this oath. This led to a discussion of considerable length, the result of which was an explanatory declaration from the apostolical vicar, 'that no new oath should be taken, without consulting the bishops, in whom the supreme authority resided, as governors of the church of Christ, and keepers of the faith.' A controversy ensued, which was considerably protracted; and in course of which, a great deal of scholastic learning was displayed on one side; and a great deal of sound sense, and certainly I never in my life witnessed more true christian piety displayed any where, than in the two letters to which I have alluded. The committee were desirous to induce their bishops, some of whom had refused to sign the protest, to agree with them in the object they proposed, and relinquish their objections. The bishops refused; but the committee were, nevertheless, unanimous in framing the oath, which was afterwards adopted by the parliament of Ireland; and here it is material to state the nature of that oath, in order to shew the ground upon which it was opposed by the bishops."

"The oath set out with disclaiming, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine, that princes excommunicated by the pope, may be deposed from their dominions, and their subjects absolved from their allegiance. They abjure most solemnly that opinion imputed to them, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; and they also

abjure the opinion, that any foreign prince or potentate hath, or ought to have, any temporal power in these realms. And farther, *sub modo*, 'that no foreign bishop, priest, or any other ecclesiastical power whatever, has a right to exercise any spiritual authority in these realms, hostile to the state, or that can directly, or indirectly, interrupt or interfere with the independence and security of the protestant church or establishment, or the rights, liberties, and properties of his majesty's subjects."

"The last passage was the one objected to by the bishops, and struck out of the oath. But this was the most material passage to us, although thus condemned by the bishops. It was pretty material they should object to an oath so worded; and it is pretty good authority for those doubts now entertained with respect to the Roman catholic clergy. The result, however, shewed, that even the laity were taught to consider themselves as departing from the principles of their spiritual faith, if they abjured the authority of the see of Rome in this respect."

"This controversy went on for a considerable time, and great acrimony was indulged on both sides. The protesting catholic committee complained most grievously of the conduct of their bishops, who, by their constant interference, prevented the success of their political objects; and the bishops, in their turn, charged them with a dereliction of the principles of their religion; and the committee at length submitted, and gave up this oath. In giving up this matter, on the part of the protesting catholic committee, two things become manifest. In the first place, that no concession would be made by the catholics; and, in the second, that the priests were more absolutely masters of their flocks, than they were even in France—or in Italy itself."

"Now, in spite of all the conclusive reasoning in these letters, to which I have alluded; in spite of the condemnation of the conduct of their bishops, expressed by the catholic committee; and in spite of the conviction in their own minds, of the propriety of what they were doing, they were obliged to give way to their bishops, and to the authority of the pope; and I am credibly

informed, that in consequence of what took place on this letter to their bishops, many of the gentlemen of that committee expunged their names from that protestation, and many others of them dared not sign their names to it. Now this draws me to an observation in reference to the veto. No man can doubt, that the veto met with the approbation of the catholic laity, when it was first mentioned in this house. But when the bishops interfered, we heard no more about the veto. Why then, when we know the interference of the catholic clergy upon the subject of the veto, I cannot hesitate to say, that the catholic religion is just as objectionable, with a view to these concessions, as ever it was."

Mr. Yorke alluded to Locke, on toleration, and Blackstone. "Blackstone maintains, that every popish priest, upon taking his oath for orders, renounces his engagements and allegiance to the government of which he was a subject."

Mr. John Leslie Foster said :—"Hardly were the political concessions granted, until Ireland was in a flame from end to end, and one continued month of peace and security it has never known from that hour to the present. And yet are we called on to assume, as a matter so evident, that nothing but the most wilful and intolerant bigotry can prevent us from acknowledging, that the progress of catholic content is in the direct proportion of the concession of political power."

Mr. Perceval said :—"The catholics have no positive and natural right to that which has no existence but in a state of society; that cannot be an object of natural right, which is purely the creature of society. Such, for instance, as offices of state, emoluments, and distinctions, and other social institutions, which spring from the foundation of society. These can never be matters of inherent right; and no man can have any original or primitive claim upon them. These are benefits and advantages which must, of necessity, be distributed according to the views of the institution that creates them. They can be only received by the members of society, according to the terms and forms which the law makes it necessary for

them to conform to; and therefore, in that point of view, it is undeniable, that the catholics of Ireland have no ground to demand as a right, that which is the object of the present government to refuse to concede."

"In the course of the speech of Sir John Cox Hippesley, last night, he desired us to refer to a work entitled—'*Tractatus de ecclesia*,' for something that would highly instruct and gratify all who read it. I have got a *Tractatus de ecclesia*, not indeed the exact one mentioned by the honourable baronet, but a *Tractatus* published by the printer of Maynooth college, and by their authority, under the direction of M. De La Hogue, the professor of theology at Maynooth; and certainly it may be considered as one of the class books of that college. On my part, I introduce this book for the purpose of shewing that they teach the youth of that institution, at this hour, the same obnoxious tenets. The proposition to which I wish to call the attention of the house, is their instructions upon the subject of the general councils. It contains instructions for the youth educated there, and it tells them, among other things, 'that councils are infallible.' There is no sort of reservation whatever; they are taught to believe implicitly in the infallibility of all these councils. We must understand that the whole of the councils are not specified in the book; but the most prominent points and doctrines of the fourth council of Lateran and of Trent are collected together, and inculcated as the most doctrinal tenets, without any exception whatever, of the Roman catholic church. This contains the tenets received by the Irish and Gallican churches. It does not contain merely matters of faith, but also of discipline; and inculcates the doctrine to which I object, namely, the infallibility of those councils."

"If the Roman catholic theologians of Maynooth do really renounce these obnoxious doctrines of the fourth Lateran council, and do not abide by these general councils of Trent, it is not quite fair nor just by the youth who are entrusted to their education, to tell them, that those of this last council are to be the manual of their education. I say, therefore, this appears to me to leave no reasonable

doubt, in this point of view, that they have given up none of these obnoxious doctrines. What a different argument there would have been on this subject, in favour of the catholics, if the honourable baronet could have produced a book in which these councils are contained, and in which the obnoxious parts could have been pointed out for the benefit of the students, that they might know how to avoid those doctrines, which were to be considered by their masters as objectionable parts, and to which they should pay no attention. But no—we have the most objectionable parts picked out, and made the earliest food for the young mind; and the learned theologian then tells them that, "Itaque maximo in pretio illud concilium habere debent omnes clerici, cum ratione dogmatum sit omnium præcedentium synodorum compendium, et ratione disciplinæ merito dici posset manuale sacerdotum vel eorum qui sacerdotio sunt initiandi."

"With regard to the influence of the pope, I wish that the house should be apprized of what were the sentiments in the recent publication of Doctor O'Connor. He has stated his opinion with regard to the influence of the Irish church on the people, and given much other important information upon that subject. Page 95 begins with letters, after an historical address upon the subject of the fears of the people, with respect to foreign influence." (Here he read several extracts from Doctor O'Connor's pamphlet, containing comments upon the influence of the bishop of Rome, as still inculcated by the college of Maynooth; on the spiritual and temporal power of the catholic clergy; and, in page 114, on the oath of allegiance taken by the Roman catholic clergy to the papal authority.) "Now, this Doctor O'Connor has sustained a vigorous controversy with some of the Roman-catholic clergy of Ireland; and, I am told, he has been excommunicated for this identical publication."

For the entire of this admirable speech, the delivery of which, its able and upright speaker outlived but seventeen days, I refer the reader to the parliamentary history. I have given here, however, the most prominent passages.

The Romish claims were, on this occasion, rejected by a majority of eighty-five.

On the 11th of May, the hand of an assassin deprived Mr. Perceval's country of his faithful services, and raised him to an immortal crown.

The following is extracted from a newspaper:

"*Dumfries, May* 19th—A report was here circulated on the 10th instant, twenty-four hours before the assassination, that Mr. Perceval was shot in his way to the house of commons, at the door or in the lobby of that house."

The Rev. Doctor Thorpe, in a pamphlet, published in Dublin, in 1814, gives "an extract from a speech said to have been delivered by Mr. O'Connell, at a meeting of the Roman catholics of Limerick: published (he says) in Dublin, along with one said to have been spoken by Mr. Finlay, at an aggregate meeting of the Roman catholics, held in Dublin.—The motto of the pamphlet which contains these speeches, is remarkable: it is—'*Magnus uterque timor latronibus.*' Hor. 1 Lib. 4 Sat."

"In the latter periods of the present reign, every administration has had a distinct principle, upon which it was formed, and which serves the historian to explain all its movements. Thus, the principle of the Pitt administration was to deprive the people of all share in the government, and to vest all power and authority in the crown. In short, Pitt's views amounted to unqualified despotism. This great object he steadily pursued through his ill-starred career. It is true, he encouraged commerce; but it was for the purpose of taxation; and he used taxation for the purpose of corruption. He assisted the merchants, as long as he could, to grow rich, and they lauded him; he bought the people with their own money, and they praised him. Each succeeding day produced some new inroad on the constitution; and the alarm which he excited, by reason of the bloody workings of the French revolution, enabled him to rule the land with uncontrolled sway. He has bequeathed to his successors the accumulated power of the crown—a power which is so great, as to sustain the nonentities of the present administration. The principle of Pitt's administration was despotism: the principle of Perceval's administration was *peculating bigotry—bigoted peculation!* In the name

of the Lord, he plundered the people. Pious and enlightened statesman! he would take their money only for the good of their souls! The principle of the present administration is still more obvious. It has unequivocally disclosed itself in all their movements. It is simple and single—it consists in falsehood!—Falsehood is the bond and link which connects this ministry in office. Some of them pretend to be our friends; you know it is not true.—They are only our worse enemies for hypocrisy."

Doctor Thorpe says, "This calumny was uttered almost before Mr. Perceval was cold in his grave!"

Again—"The pamphlet before us furnishes a parallel, in the speech attributed to Mr. Finlay. He is described as having expressed himself as follows, in an aggregate meeting of the Roman catholics, held in Dublin, within a month after Mr. Perceval's funeral."

"But two obstacles impeded its advancement, (i. e. catholic emancipation,) which neither moral nor political causes could remove—the principles of a minister, and the conscience of a king. The minister said it was resisted by his reason—the king declared itwas resisted by his morality. The king was religious—the bigots were obstinate. Bigotry, in this case, as in all cases, adopted the pretences of religion to counteract the purposes of religion. The bigots of the day beset the monarch—they said to themselves, in the language of the great poet,

> ———The oath, the oath's the thing,
> In which we'll catch the conscience of the King.

In this way they succeeded in convincing the sovereign, that concession to you must be perjury to him. Thus, the semblance of religion, and the substance of bigotry, united to oppose the free worship of God. Against these two uncommon obstacles, moral and political causes worked in vain—in vain would reason expostulate with bigotry—in vain would it argue with religious conscientiousness. Reason could do nothing with the one or the other—secondary causes must fail to remove such obstacles—human causes could not remove them—man could not remove them—none but God could remove them. God has removed them. By the two severest visitations with

which man can be afflicted—by the loss of reason and by the loss of life, these two impediments to your emancipation have been dislodged;—your king no longer ranks with the rational, and the minister of that king is now numbered with the dead. As a subject and a man, I must, in common with you all, sincerely deplore this twofold affliction; but, as a moralist and a christian, it may be permitted to infer, that these awful signs of the times may appear to the eye of the unborn historian, but as the distinct evidence of a controlling providence; that for the future, man's free worship of his Creator is, as it were, written by the finger of God; and that it now stands a record in heaven, that the time is past, and never can return, when any man, or any set of men, can presume to rebuke, by any system of social or civil vilification, that great majority of the christian church which bend the knee at the name of Jesus."

I shall make no remarks on these speeches, as the judicious remarks made by Doctor Thorpe, in his pamphlet, to which I refer my readers, fully comprehend all that is necessary to be said on this part of the subject.

On the 18th of June, an aggregate meeting, termed, of "the catholics of Ireland," took place in Dublin.—The resolutions passed were :—

1st—"That we do forthwith renew our humble, but earnest application by petition to the legislature, praying for a total and unqualified repeal of the penal laws which aggrieve the catholics of these realms, infringe the sacred rights of religious liberty, and endanger the existence of the British empire."

2d...."That the charge of preparing such petitions, and of causing them to be duly presented without delay, be confided to the individuals possessing the confidence of the catholics of Ireland, named at the last aggregate meeting of the catholics of Ireland."

3d...."That the said persons are so nominated, not to represent the people of these realms, or any portion thereof, but merely for the purposes, solely and exclusively, already prescribed, and for no other purpose whatsoever."

4th...." That from authentic documents now before us, we learn with deep disappointment and anguish, how cruelly the promised boon of catholic freedom has been intercepted by the fatal witchery of an unworthy secret influence, hostile to our fairest hopes, spurning alike the sanctions of public and private virtue, the demands of personal gratitude, and the sacred obligations of plighted honour."

5th...." That to this impure source we trace but too distinctly, our baffled hopes and protracted servitude—the arrogant invasion of the undoubted right of petitioning—the acrimony of illegal state prosecutions—the surrender of Ireland to prolonged oppression and insult—and the many experiments, equally pitiful and perilous, recently practised upon the habitual passiveness of an ill-treated, but high spirited people."

6th..." That cheerless indeed would be our prospects, and faint our hopes of success, were they to rest upon the constancy of courtiers, or the pompous patronage of men who can coldly sacrifice the feelings and interests of millions, at the shrine of perishable power; or, deluded by the blandishments of a too luxurious court, can hazard the safety of a people, for ill-timed courtly compliments. The pageants of a court, command not our respect—our great cause rests upon the immutable foundations of truth, and justice, and reason—equal constitutional rights, unconditional, unstipulated, unpurchased by dishonour, are objects dear to our hearts. They consist with virtue, wisdom, humanity, true religion, and unaffected honour; and can never be abandoned by men who deserve to be free."

7th..." That for the complete attainment of this our constitutional object, we firmly confide in our own persevering exertions, in the enlightened wisdom and growing liberality of our fellow citizens, (recently and gloriously exhibited in their petitions to parliament in our behalf,) and, above all, in that providence which presides over the destinies of nations, and permits not the oppression of man by his fellow creature with impunity."

8th..." That, turning with disgust from the gloomy wreck of public character, presented in recent events, we recognise, with esteem and admiration, the truly noble elevation of sentiment which has distinguished Lords Grey and Grenville, and the other personages who, with them, have stood aloof from the allurements of intrigue, and maintained the high station of rigid independence. We respect their recent conduct as directed by sound wisdom, by well founded caution, by an honest anxiety as well for the secure attainment of great public benefits as for the conservation of their own personal honour."

9th..." That we have found in the Earl of Donoughmore, a steady, earnest and intrepid advocate of our rights—an ever faithful sentinel of our interests—an undaunted and judicious assertor of truths awfully important to our country. That the Right Honourable Henry Grattan has eloquently sustained our application to the house of commons, and has again deserved our eternal gratitude, and that our chairman be requested to transmit these our sentiments in suitable terms."

10th..." That we have viewed with inexpressible pleasure and admiration the generous exertions of our fellow citizens of other persuasions in our behalf, their solicitude in subscribing and recommending petitions to parliament for our relief, and their spontaneous support at public meetings.—We hope to merit their honourable confidence by a continuance of the same temperate, but firm conduct which has already conciliated their esteem: and though we cannot, in sincerity, proffer those securities or arrangements,—(amounting, if practicable, to the new exchange of one species of servitude for another,) yet we must chearfully tender to their kind acceptance, as the only equivalent in our power, our warm affections and lasting gratitude—our oaths of allegiance—our past loyalty and merits—our present willingness to assist (whenever by law permitted) in ths ardous enterprize of saving the sinking vessel of the state."

11th..." That from recent observation of political duplicity, we feel it necessary to recommend most earnestly to all catholic freeholders throughout Ireland, steadily to resist the pretensions of any candidates who shall hesitate to pledge themselves publicly to the uniform support of catholic emancipation; or who shall have lent, or are likely to lend, their support to any administration founded in intolerance, and hostile to the enjoyment of religious liberty."

12th..." That the expenses unavoidably attendant upon the conduct of catholic petitions, and the defence of the invaded right of petitioning, call for the liberal aid of our fellow countrymen, and we confide to the public spirit and zeal of the catholic body throughout every district for ample pecuniary support."

13th..." That these our resolutions be published in the public prints—four times in four of the London newspapers, and six times in six of the Dublin newspapers."

14th..." That the cordial gratitude of the catholics of Ireland is due to the author of the 'Statement of the Penal Laws,' lately published, a work in which we recognise all the accuracy of great legal knowledge, combined with the classic elegance of the scholar, and profound observation of the philosopher."

15th..." That the catholics of Ireland have beheld, with sentiments of the deepest gratitude, the exalted patriotism of his royal highness the duke of Sussex, manifested by his constitutional and enlightened support of the principles of religious liberty."

This insidious, seditious, and daring document, too plainly displays the cloven foot, to require much remark. Passing by the contemptible trash, "unqualified repeal," and the flimsy subterfuge, "possessing the confidence of," &c. I shall only request of the reader to remark the subtile ingenuity of deception, and treasonable audacity, contained in the base and false attack on the exalted, upright, spirited, yet temperate personage, who, supported by numerous and powerful adherents, did not think it necessary to permit "All the talents" to "ride rough-shod through Carleton-house."

On the 22d of June, Mr. Canning proposed, in the house of commons, that the laws affecting Roman catholics should be taken into consideration early in the next session, which was carried by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine.

On the 1st of July, the same proposition was made in the house of lords, by the Marquis Wellesley, which was rejected by a majority of one.

On the 4th of July, the "catholic board," in Dublin, resolved—"That the catholic board do meet on the first and third Saturday of every month, until the 1st of November next; and that our secretary do write circular letters to all the members, announcing our serious apprehensions, that a religious persecution is about to recommence in Ireland, apparently sanctioned by the present administration—and inculcating the necessity of frequent deliberation, and constant activity, on the part of the catholic body, in obviating the approaching calamity, and in the firm assertion of their rights, at this fearful and important crisis."

From this time forward, the meetings of boards and aggregates became so frequent, that I should only trouble the reader with a confused and crowded mass of events, and an obtrusive repetition of nonsensical and seditious speeches, by a misnomer, termed eloquent, but sufficiently disgusting and tiresome, even at the periods of their delivery, were I to give all that has been said, and all that has been done. I shall, therefore, omit the most bulky and immaterial part, what has been said. Besides, it has been objected, that for the particular sentiments of any individual, the individual himself should alone be answerable, and should in his own person alone, suffer any privations or restrictions consequent on these. I am inclined to attach much more weight to this opinion, than to any other I ever heard of, coming from a member of the "august body." Speeches would not be sufficiently conclusive.

"We must have grounds more relative than this."

Our inductions must flow, on this, as on every other part of the subject, from more tangible premises. Of this

description, are the "resolutions" of aggregates and boards. I shall only insert such passages from speeches, as may be assumed to be connected with general occurrences. These, too, shall be as few and short as possible. My object is a general relation, and embraces not particular, invidious, or unnecessary detail, where I can in any wise avoid it, with justice to my general subject. My anxious desire is to avoid giving offence, and rather to throw a veil over the violent and absurd speeches of individuals, where it can be done without injury to the general design of this work, or without compromising truth.

Of the resolutions, to give the whole, verbatim, general and local, would be also very tedious. The more striking and important, I shall give literally; the others, sometimes abridge, and sometimes glance through generally, to prove coincidence, and, at the same time, combine substance with brevity.

On the 1st of August, an aggregate meeting in Tralee passed resolutions; of which, the third was:—"That as Irishmen, and as catholics, we would deem the annexation of any conditions, or stipulations, to our freedom, as a wanton insult to our loyalty and our honour, and as calculated to injure the religion which we have inherited from our ancestors, and to which we firmly and conscientiously adhere."

And the ninth was:—"That the most sincere thanks of the catholics of Ireland, are due to the author of the Statement of the Penal Laws, a work eminently calculated to ensure for our cause the support of every honest man, because it so truly and so forcibly discloses the grievances and oppressions necessarily consequent on a code of intolerance."

On the 14th of August, an aggregate meeting in Cork passed resolutions; of which, the first was:—"That feeling, with a deep and solemn conviction, the danger of irritating, and necessity of conciliating, at this awful period, five millions of men, who constitute the efficient population of this land, and are the nerve and sinew of its strength, we will continue our unremitting exertions

to obtain from the legislature, the restoration—immediate, complete, and unconditional, of those rights, to which nature, justice, policy, the pronounced voice of our protestant fellow-citizens, and the spirit of the constitution itself, proclaim, with irresistible accord, our undoubted title."

The 11th was:—"That, identifying ourselves in feeling, as we are in interest, with the catholics of Ireland, assembled in Dublin, on the 18th of June, and 2nd of July, we highly applaud the manly spirit of their resolutions, and the proud attitude of conscious right, assumed by them on those days; and to the truly dignified conduct of their venerated chairman, the earl of Fingal, we can never omit an opportunity of presenting the heartfelt expression of our warmest approbation."

And the 12th was:—"That the work entitled, 'A Statement of the Penal Laws,' appears to us a luminous and uncontroverted exposition of the disabilities under which we yet labour, and an irresistible appeal to the sympathy and justice of our protestant countrymen, whose co-operation in effecting the removal of our grievances, will be commensurate with the knowledge of their extent; and, that our thanks are due to the author of this masterly performance."

Of that part of the first resolution, which alludes to protestant signatures, in favour of "emancipation," I shall only remark, that, at a subsequent period of time, in this work, the 13th of May, 1813, will be found an elucidation, in a speech of Doctor Duigenan's, in the house of commons. But the most copious abuse was issued from seditious newspapers, of those who had the presumption, forsooth, to sign counter-petitions against "emancipation," which now became pretty general throughout the country. Among the variety, the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, of October the 16th, terms the corporation of the city of Cork, "a gang of paltry bigots;" while other newspapers threatened to publish the names of such as should sign them. Why were not these threats put in execution? There could be but three reasons. First, they could not all be procured. Secondly,

a glimmering of light; the fear, that those whose names could be procured, should be exposed to the dagger of the assassin. Thirdly, the apprehension, that the developement (if practicable,) would tend more to the credit, than to the disgrace of the individuals exposed. For the honour of human nature, it is to be hoped, that the second was the impulsive reason for forbearance. In one of these papers, the happiest indications have been since exhibited; and, there is strong reason to believe, with great sincerity.

On the 29th of September, the parliament was dissolved, and writs were issued for a new parliament, to meet on the 24th of November.

I now come to the memorable æra of the general election. Of this, to attempt giving a regular account, would be entirely too tedious and complicated. It is also too well impressed on the recollection of my readers, to be necessary. But I may remark, that in no place in the United Kingdom, did its furor rage with such tremendous violence, as in the city and county of Cork. Of its exhibitions in these, I shall give some specimens.

Advertisement—From the Cork Mercantile Chronicle.

"IMPORTANT NOTICE."

"The electors of the county of Cork are hereby informed, that daily lists of those who shall vote, either for or against the liberal and patriotic candidate, shall be published, and forwarded by express, to the several towns of the county, for the purpose of enabling the public to judge of the real principles and dispositions of each voter."—*October 19th*, 1812.

Advertisement—From the Cork Mercantile Chronicle.

"CITY ELECTION."

"As arrangements have been made for the free passage of the electors, Sir Nicholas Colthurst, with great respect, solicits the attendance, &c."—*October 23d.*

The election had been commenced on the 20th of October. From the 20th, to the 23d, the city court had

exhibited the most tumultuary scene ever witnessed in Cork. The very lowest of the rabble, aided and incited by a factious rabble, a little better dressed, regularly took possession of the court-house, at its first opening in the morning of each day; and, supported by reinforcements throughout the day, kept possession; while the better dressed ruffians obstructed the passage of, insulted, and endeavoured to intimidate, if that were practicable, those whom they supposed to be firm and loyal, long before they could ascertain, except by guess, how they would vote. At last, the magistrates were compelled to interfere; door-keepers were fixed; constables stationed; a military guard (if absolutely necessary to preserve the peace of the city, and the liberties of its inhabitants,) held in requisition; and some seditious individuals committed to prison. On the 23d, order was in some measure restored; and a free passage obtained for electors, of whatever religious or political persuasion. This is what Sir Nicholas Colthurst alluded to in his advertisement.

On the 27th of October, the Cork Southern Reporter commenced, and in four succeeding newspapers continued, a publication of the names and votes of the city freemen and freeholders, which was thus prefaced:—"We have been obliged to omit the lengthened details of yesterday's proceedings, in order to insert the list of the freemen and freeholders who have voted from the first day of the election, and for whom. This we conceive a most necessary duty. It is right the people should be made acquainted with those who voted for and against the enlightened advocate of religious liberty—the decided enemy of corruption—the assertor of Irish rights, and the attentive and assiduous guardian of the commercial interests of the city of Cork."

The next material document, is an advertisement first published in the Southern Reporter, the same day the resolutions therein were passed.

"At a meeting of the catholics of the county of Cork, held at the Bush Tavern, on Saturday, 31st of October, 1812, pursuant to public notice, the following resolutions, moved by Alexander O'Driscol, of Creagh, and

seconded by Michael Galway, of Old Court, Esquires, were unanimously agreed to:"—

"William Copinger, jun. of Barry's Court, esq. being moved to the chair by Thomas Rochfort, of Garret's Town, esq. seconded by M'Carthy O'Leary, of Millstreet, esq."

1st..." Resolved, that the elective franchise is the most important privilege with which the Roman catholics of this country are invested; and, that when honestly and independently exercised, it must prove the most efficient instrument towards the extinction of unjust and partial laws, and the complete possession of all the blessings of the British constitution."

2d..." That the Roman catholics of Cork are bound by every tie of honour, gratitude, and public duty, to support the sincere and unequivocal friends of civil and religious liberty, and to oppose most strenuously, hostile, or even doubtful candidates."

3d..." That we have on repeated occasions, in the glowing language of the heart, returned thanks to the Honourable George Ponsonby, for his steady and uniform support of the catholic claims, and of every measure calculated to promote the prosperity of his native land, uninfluenced by patronage, and unawed by the threats of an administration avowedly hostile to the concession of our just rights, and that we will support him to the utmost of our power, in the arduous contest in which he is engaged."

4th..." That we regret that any Roman catholic elector in this county, has been found so shamefully inconsistent, so regardless of his own character, and that of the catholic body, as to sacrifice every generous feeling of the heart, and every principle of manly independence, at the shrine of corrupt self interest, and at the very crisis of his country's fate, to abandon his public duty, and thus to have his name recorded in the list of those apostates who have become the ignominious accomplices of their own degradation, a stigma upon their race, and a disgrace to their religion and their country."

5th..." That no fair or liberal landlord can think of persecuting his tenantry, for acting according to the dictates

of their consciences, and exercising honestly and independently, the rights with which the laws of their country invest them."

6th..." That we have observed, with much indignation, an address, purporting to come from Mr. Hare, in which he expresses "thanks and gratitude to his highly respected catholic friends," because we cannot entertain a belief, that any respectable or independent catholic, did, or could give his support to Mr. Hare, in preference to Mr. Ponsonby, of the sincerity of whose attachment to our cause, no catholic can entertain a doubt."

7th..." That the present resolutions be published in the Cork papers."

"WILLIAM COPINGER, *CHAIRMAN.*'
"JOHN STACK, *SECRETARY.*"

"William Copinger, esq. having left the chair, and Richard Barry, esq. having been called thereto, the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to Mr. Copinger."

On the 3d of November, by which time all sides began to discern the result, which the 5th decided, of this protracted and turbulent election, the Southern Reporter published a long article, under the head, "City Election," which thus commenced:—"While a contemptible and illiberal faction are endeavouring, by base slander, and every species of corruption, to deprive the city of Cork of its former faithful and able representative, the eyes of the people of Ireland are anxiously directed to the result of this ill-judged and wicked contest."

The loyal and protestant corporation of Cork, the protestant clergy, and all other descriptions of protestant freemen and freeholders, thus denominated "a contemptible and illiberal faction"—what shall we term the other party?—"The patriots," to be sure! The patriots, then, perceiving the game to be up in the city, directed all their "talents," exertions, and support, in aid of the friends of their cause, in the county. Here, it was found neces-

sary to meet some of the manœuvres. The following advertisement, therefore, was published in the Cork papers :—

"The friends of the independence of the county of Cork, having determined to support it by such a contribution, as will effectually meet the boasted resources which are now avowed to be at the disposal of another party; and having for that purpose entered into a liberal and extensive subscription; the gentlemen who have agréed to contribute thereto, are requested to pay their contributions into any of the banks of the city or county of Cork, and to take receipts, accountable to the treasurer, John Michael Wrixon, Esq. And such gentlemen as have not had an opportunity of expressing their feelings and intentions on this occasion, are requested to signify them speedily to the said treasurer, or to William Colburn, Esq. Cork."

"Signed by order,

Nov. 2nd. "WILLIAM COLBURN, *SECRETARY.*"

On the 5th of November, the Southern Reporter published an article, of which I give the commencing part :—

Reporter-Office, Six o'Clock."

"The voice of the sheriffs this evening announced, that Colonel Longfield, and Sir Nicholas Colthurst, were the members to sit in the next parliament, for the representation of this great city. But the voice of the people contradicted the official return. Sir Nicholas Colthurst, the member started against Mr. Hutchinson, by a bigoted faction, received at this election, six hundred and thirty-nine voices in his favour; and we do most firmly believe, that in a city whose population consists of one hundred and forty thousand persons, he would not have been enabled to poll double that number, though every individual inhabitant were permitted to vote. We are warranted in this opinion, from the sight which this great city presented this evening, when not less, we are sure, than eighty thousand people, attended the triumphal chairing of Mr. Hutchinson."

Before I pass the period of the election, in glancing through which, I have, for brevity, confined myself to what I conceived to be a few of the most material documents; it is in the closest chain of connexion with its proceedings, to insert, in this place, the following

"ADVERTISEMENT."

"It appearing to several of the noblemen and gentlemen of landed interest in this county, that an illiberal attack has been made on the highly respectable banking house of Joseph Pike, of this city, esquire, by sending in an unusual number of his notes for payment, and by cutting and mutilating others, so as to prevent their circulation, *and this in consequence of his having exercised his right of elective franshise:* We, who have hereunto subscribed our names, hereby declare, that if such conduct shall be persisted in, after this publication, we are resolved ourselves, and shall direct our agents and receivers of our rents, not to take in payment thereof, any other than the

NATIONAL PAPER OF THIS KINGDOM,

so as thereby to prevent the depreciation attempted to be cast upon the notes of the said Joseph Pike, or the preference attempted to be given to the circulation of other banker's notes of this county and city.—Cork, November 16, 1812."

Shannon,

Bandon,	*Wallis Adams,*	*Henry Becher,*
Bantry,	*John Pyne,*	*Samuel Jervois,*
Bernard,	*John Colthurst,*	*Nathaniel Evanson,*
Thos. Cork & Ross,	*Richard Hare,*	*Richard Townsend,*
Rich. B. Townsend,	*J. Travers,* Belvidere.	*Jas. Hingston, Clk.*
Samuel Townsend,	*Robt. Hedges Eyre,*	*Samuel R. Perry,*
William Stewart,	*Robert Courtenay,*	*John Travers,*
Simon White,	*Augustus Warren,*	*Rev. Somers Payne,*
Abraham Morris,	*Michael G. Adams,*	*John Browne,*
John Colthurst,	*Thomas Alleyn,*	*Thomas M. Browne.*

The following advertisement is also applicable, from the Mercantile Chronicle of the 4th of December:

"CITY OF CORK REGISTRY."

"The gentlemen associated for the purpose of extending the elective franchise, give this public notice, that such persons as are willing to register their freeholds, may have their affidavits prepared by their agents, John Swiney, South-mall; Edmond O'Flaherty, Marlborough-street; John Bennett, Lavitt's-quay; James O'Brien, South-mall; St. John Aikenhead, Rutland-street; Remiah Sheehan, Marlborough-street; who will also, if necessary, defray the expenses to be incurred on the occasion.—*Cork, December* 4, 1812."

Having thus given collectively, without troubling the reader with long speeches, or minute circumstances, a sufficient specimen of this election in the city and county of Cork; this will furnish a clue towards discerning its spirit generally; and I now revert to intermediate occurrences.

On the 23d of October, resolutions were passed by "the catholic electors of the town and county of Carlow." These resolutions are not only similar, in import, to those passed in Cork on the 31st, but they are, for the most part, similar in the very words. It is, therefore, unnecessary to give them.

On the 5th of November, at an aggregate meeting of the "catholics of the county of Dublin," resolutions were passed; of which the second was:—"That we deem the idea of annexing any conditions or restrictions to our emancipation, under the name of securities, to imply a most unmerited insult to our allegiance and our understandings, and that such idea has originated with our worst enemies for the mere purpose of delaying the concessions of religious freedom, which we claim as a right, the concession of which we deem essential to the safety of the country."

The sixth was:—"That from recent events we deem it necessary to conjure the catholic freeholders to strengthen their interests by immediate registry, and to abstain from involving themselves in any promises that may connect

them with the supporters of an incompetent and profligate administration."

The eighth was:—"That subscriptions to defray the expenses of our petition be collected in every parish in this county."

And the ninth was:—"That the thanks and support of this meeting are eminently due to the author of a work entitled 'A Statement of the Penal Laws,' for the zeal, patriotism, and ability, displayed in publishing to the country the many grievances under which the catholics of Ireland still labour."

On the 27th of November, at an aggregate meeting in the Queen's County, resolutions were passed; of which the third was:—"That we cannot consider those persons who require securities for our allegiance, inconsistent with our real principles, as discovering any real desire to conciliate the catholics of Ireland."

The fifth was:—"That from recent events we deem it necessary to conjure the catholics to register their freeholds without delay, that they may hereafter be enabled to evince their zealous attachment to the sincere friends of civil and religious liberty."

And the tenth was:—"That our warmest thanks and support are eminently due to the author of the 'Statement of the Penal Laws."

In the beginning of December, the following address, dated the 18th of November, was published:

"THE ADDRESS

Of the Roman catholic prelates, assembled in Dublin, on the 18th of November, 1812, to the clergy and laity of the Roman catholic churches in Ireland.—Published by authority."

"*To the clergy and laity of the Roman catholic churches in Ireland.*"

"REVEREND BROTHERS, BELOVED CHILDREN,
PEACE BE TO YOU!"

"Recurring exigencies in the course of the last few years, have repeatedly induced us, as guardians of the

Roman catholic religion in Ireland, to declare our sentiments on the subject of its concerns; and we have had the unspeakable satisfaction of witnessing that such declarations, on our part, were received by you with that unanimity, and that spirit, which proclaim to the world, that your inviolable attachment to the creed of your ancestors hath not hitherto been, and, under the Divine protection, never will be lessened or impaired, by privations, penalties, or hardships."

"Of that conscientious loyalty, which all good subjects owe to their king, and to the state, and which the spirit of our religion so emphatically inculcates, you have given such unequivocal assurances, such unparalleled and satisfactory proofs, that the most distrustful ingenuity cannot possibly devise securities more binding."

"We learn, notwithstanding, with the deepest regret, that in the opinion of many respectable individuals, your restoration to the full enjoyment of the blessings of the constitution ought to be postponed, until what we consider necessary to the integrity of our religion, shall have been first surrendered; a surrender, to which, with the assistance of God, we shall prefer that of our lives."

"We are also concerned to observe, that various attempts have been made, and are still persisted in, to mislead the public mind. Periodical papers and pamphlets, replete with misrepresentation, are unceasingly employed to frustrate the exertions of our friends, and exasperate the prejudices of our opponents."

"Amongst these publications, we find it necessary to particularize certain tracts, which have lately appeared, under the title of *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, fraught with misrepresentation and calumny, and presuming to dictate, as Roman catholic tenets, opinions contrary to the genuine doctrines, and subversive of the discipline of the Roman catholic church."

"To obviate, as far as in our power, these mischievous attempts, we deem it a duty to announce to you the subsequent resolutions, which we have this day unanimously adopted."

1st...." That we do hereby confirm and declare our unaltered adherence to the resolutions unanimously entered into at our last general meeting, on the 26th of February, 1810."

2nd..." That we do confirm our condemnation and censure of certain propositions, extracted from a book, entitled *Abus sans Example, &c.* by Pierre Louis Blanchard, R. Juigne, London, 1808, and specified in our declaration of the 3d of July, and 21st of August, 1809; and further, we in like manner declare, that we will not grant *faculties*, of any kind, to any clergyman, who may or shall assert, that our afflicted holy father is a *heretic*, or a *schismatic*, or *the author*, or *the abettor of heresy or schism.*"

3d...." That, although the substance of the answers returned by six Roman catholic universities, relative to the duties of subjects, in the years 1788 and 1789, is manifestly contained in the oath of allegiance and declaration, which we have solemnly sworn; we think it nevertheless, fitting to declare, that we consider those answers as perfectly conformable to the doctrine and tenets of our religion, and that we adopt them as our own."

4th...." That admiring, as we do, the determination of the Roman catholics of Ireland, to persevere in their temperate, firm, and constitutional efforts for the removal of the disabilities, which still continue to affect them: we contemplate, with peculiar satisfaction, the zeal which they have evinced, in their readiness to forego the attainment of civil advantages, rather than purchase them at the expense of any sacrifice which might compromise or endanger the safety and integrity of their religion."

5th...." That, as we are at present precluded from any intercourse with our supreme pastor, we feel ourselves utterly incompetent to propose or agree to any change in the long established mode of appointing Irish Roman catholic bishops."

6th—" That we are firmly convinced, that no pledges, or securities of more efficient obligation can be devised, than those which we have already given; most humbly conceiving that our long continued endurance under

the pressure of the penal code, from which a sacrifice of conscience would have instantly relieved us, is proof, incontrovertible, that the sacredness of an oath is no where more binding, than on the consciences of Irish Roman catholics."

7th...." That our warmest thanks are justly due to James Bernard Clinch, Esq. for the ability, learning, and zeal, which he has successfully displayed in his refutation of the errors and slanders published under the title of *Columbanus ad Hibernos.*"

"We conclude, reverend brothers, beloved children, by exhorting you to persevere in the faith of your forefathers in Christ; to rest your hope on Him whose promises cannot fail, and that your faith and hope be ever enlivened by charity."

"Once more, reverend brethren, beloved children, peace be with you! Amen."

"*Dublin, Nov.* 18, 1812."

"*R. O'Reilly,*	*T. Costello,*
P. J. Plunkett,	*N. J. Archdeacon,*
P. M'Mullen,	*J. Caulfield, (by proxy.)*
E. Derry, (by proxy.)	*J. Flyn, (by proxy.)*
C. O'Donnell,	*T. Bray,*
P. M'Loughlin,	*F. Moylan,*
J. Murphy,	*W. Coppinger,*
F. O'Reilly,	*John Young,*
J. T. Troy,	*J. O'Shaughnessy,*
D. Murray,	*C. Sughrue,*
D. Delany,	*J. Power,*
P. Ryan,	*G. O'Kelly, r. c. Tuam.*
P. Daly, r. c. Ardagh, (by proxy)	*G. Plunkett, r. c. Elphin.*
R. Mansfield, r. c. Ossory, (proxy)	*D. Mannin, Galway."*

The next document I think necessary to notice, is the following, copied from the Mercantile Chronicle:

"At a meeting of the association of independent Roman catholic electors of the city of Cork, held in Carey's-lane school rooms, on Tuesday the 8th of Dec.

1812.—Patrick Kenifeck, Esq. in the chair,—the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:"

"That we do most sincerely lament and condemn the wicked exertions which have been made by some deluded bigots, enemies to Irish interests, to excite and continue feelings most hostile to the public peace, and to the private enjoyment of society in this part of our island; and that we will, to the utmost of our power, exert ourselves to allay such dissentions, and restore good will and good neighbourhood in our city, and the more particularly, because we are convinced that there could not exist a greater bar to the progress of our *just, great, independent,* and *constitutional cause,* than domestic disunion."

"That we are further bound, as well by our own principles of rectitude, as by the earnest and repeated solicitations and entreaties of the distinguished possessor of our attachment and esteem, the Hon. Christopher Hely Hutchinson, to recommend with peculiar earnestness the discontinuance of any acts injurious to the interests of any individual of this city; nor can we forbear from expressing our most marked disapprobation of such proceedings, as utterly unworthy of the proud spirit of Irishmen."

"That a fund be established for promoting the objects of this institution, to which every friend is invited to contribute according to his means."

"JOHN ENGLAND, *SECRETARY.*"

At an aggregate meeting of "the catholics of Ireland," on the 15th of December, resolutions were passed; of which the seventh was:—"That we have seen with indignation, certain resolutions lately published by some members of grand juries, and some individuals in different counties, containing insinuations and charges against the catholics of Ireland, accusing them of disaffection, of entertaining disguised and secret views, and of an intention to obtain a catholic ascendancy."

The first material document in 1813, is the following, of which I give a transcript, as it appeared in the newspapers:—

"PROTESTANT UNION."

"At a meeting of protestant gentlemen, convened to consider the claims of the Roman catholics, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, London, January 22nd, 1818."

"GRANVILLE SHARP, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR."

"Much information, on the subject of the Roman catholic claims, was communicated by different gentlemen, and many interesting and well authenticated facts were stated, by which it appeared to the meeting:—

1st...That the subject now under consideration, is of the highest importance to the welfare and happiness of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

2nd...That, from the extensive information now received, it is evident that much misapprehension prevails in this country, with respect to Ireland, and to the general tenets and spirit of the Roman catholics in that part of the empire.

3d...That the claims of the Roman catholics, together with the principles and rights of the protestants, ought to be gravely and impartially brought before the public: not with any party views, nor in a spirit of personal hostility, but of moderation and good will: not by exciting prejudice and clamour against the Roman catholics, but by circulating and eliciting such information as will shew, whether their claims can be conceded, consistently with the safety of our protestant state.

4th...That, in order to collect and diffuse information on these highly interesting topics, and at the same time to defend and support the protestant interest in these realms, a society should be instituted, on the basis of civil and religious liberty, as recognised by the British constitution."

"The meeting therefore resolved to form a society, to be entitled, the Protestant Union, for the Defence and Support of the Protestant Religion, and the British Constitution, as established by the glorious revolution, 1688."

"In order to declare the sentiments of this meeting, and the principles upon which the society is formed, it was resolved :"—

1st..." That it appears to this meeting, that the Roman catholics demand as a right, under the name of catholic emancipation, the repeal of all laws and disabilities by which they are affected on account of their religious tenets. This demand embraces not only the exercise of unlimited and uncontrolled religious liberty, but involves the grant of the most extensive political power. The attainment of their object would enable the Roman catholics to possess the patronage of the church of England. They would be eligible to sit in parliament; to become privy counsellors to the king, and to exercise all the offices and patronage of the higher departments of the government of England, as well as Ireland, whether in church or state; and indeed to fill the throne itself, should the crown descend to a person of the Roman catholic religion."

2nd..." That we cordially admit the great principle of the protestant religion, so amply recognised by our national church, which allows every man to worship God, after the dictates of his own conscience, provided he do not disturb the peace of the community. And we are ready to apply this principle, in its fullest extent, to persons professing the Roman catholic religion. But we have no proof, nor indeed complaint, that the Roman catholics have not, for many years, been fully secured in the free exercise of their religion; and we believe, that the existing laws afford them ample protection in their religious profession: and, consequently, as they are under no restraint of a religious nature, their object can only be the removal of political restrictions. Nevertheless, if the laws can be proved to be insufficient for this purpose, we will chearfully support any measure necessary for religious toleration."

3d..." That political power, and religious toleration, are matters totally distinct; the latter may be perfectly enjoyed, without any material portion of the former."

4th..." That with regard to rendering the Roman catholics eligible to farther political power, the wisdom of that measure principally depends upon its expediency, and the degree of safety to the state, with which it can be granted."

5th..." That the protestant religion is the great security of the public happiness and welfare of this country; for, as our civil and religious liberties have originated in, and been preserved by a protestant establishment, it appears to us, that those invaluable blessings will flourish with its prosperity, and decline with its decay."

6th..." That it has been the wise policy of our ancestors, who have asserted and established those great principles of civil and religious freedom, which have essentially contributed to the security, prosperity, and renown of this empire, to exclude Roman catholics from its government."

7th..." That it has been declared, by that great charter of our civil liberties, the Bill of Rights, that it had been found by experience, inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this protestant kingdom, to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist; therefore, every person professing the popish religion, or who should marry a papist, should be excluded from, and be incapable of enjoying the government of this realm, and of Ireland. And by the Acts of Settlement, which have so happily secured the crown of these realms to his majesty and his august family, it is declared, that the succession of the crown, in the protestant line, is for the happiness of the nation, and the security of our religion; and, that on the maintenance of these acts, 'the safety of his majesty's person and government—the continuance of the monarchy of England—the preservation of the protestant religion—the maintenance of the church of England, as by law established—the security of the ancient and undoubted rights and liberties, and the future peace and tranquillity of this kingdom, do (under God,) entirely depend."

8th..." That, as by the laws of this kingdom, a protestant government has been declared essential for the continuation of the limited monarchy of this realm, and the security of the liberty of the subject, so we consider, that, especially as the practice of government depends so much upon the ministers of the king, and upon the parliament, it ever has been necessary, for the like ends, that our legislators, the patrons of our protestant church, the members of the king's privy council, and the great officers of the executive government, should not be Roman catholics."

9th..." That, since the period of the glorious revolution, about which time, those acts of the legislature were passed, we have seen nothing in the character and features of the religion of the Roman catholics, which can lead us to suspect the wisdom and policy of the principles upon which those salutary acts were founded, or which have at any time hitherto, rendered it expedient or safe to abrogate them. On the other hand, we believe that a different policy would have been full of danger, and would have ended in the subversion of the civil and religious liberties of the country, and the destruction of the monarchy, and of our protestant establishment."

10th..." That, as we have not yet witnessed any favourable alteration or amelioration in the spirit of the Roman catholic religion, so are we taught not to consider any such change at present, as at all probable. On the contrary, it has been stated by a writer of that persuasion, of considerable authority, that 'if any one pretends to insinuate, that the modern Roman catholics differ, in one iota, from their ancestors, he either deceives himself, or wishes to deceive others.' What their ancestors were, we well know; and what themselves are, they thus undisguisedly proclaim. On this ground, therefore, we see that we have no more to expect from Roman catholic ascendancy, than our forefathers have found; and we have only to look back through the history of these realms, to see what may be expected by protestants, from that religion which, its partisans avow, has never changed."

11th..." That we do not conceive the Roman catholics, with the tenets which they hold, can, with safety to our protestant establishment, be admitted to farther political power. The infallibility of general councils, which may be revived under the influence of our enemy; the power of the Romish church, operating to a most extensive degree, upon the authority of the ministers of that religion, both in their appointment and continuance in office, and having the strongest influence upon the minds of their people; the confining of eternal salvation to those within the pale of their own church; and the imputing of the crime of heresy to protestants; for which crime, the Romish church claims the right to inflict the heaviest temporal punishment; these tenets, to this hour strenuously maintained by her highest authorities, operate powerfully upon the body politic, and render it unsafe to intrust farther political power to those who maintain them. And, bearing in mind, that the very adoption of such principles, necessarily excludes the toleration of other modes of faith, we conceive, that the admitting to the higher offices of state, those who conscientiously hold those principles, would greatly endanger, if not totally destroy, our civil and religious liberties."

12th..." That, as we do not see that the restrictions by which the Roman catholics are excluded from the power of framing the laws, and administering the highest offices in the government of our civil and religious establishment, can with safety be abolished, so we utterly deny their right to demand their abolition. Every state possesses a right to restrain whatever is dangerous to its security; and no individual, or association of individuals, can maintain, as a claim of right against the state, the relaxation of any restraint, of which a continuance is required, for the safety of the community."

13th..." That the existence of a power, who, to use the words of Mr. Locke, 'can not only persuade the members of his church to whatsoever he lists, either as purely religious, or in order thereto, but can also

enjoin it them on pain of eternal fire,' must always be dangerous to a state, where its operation is admitted; but to give farther political immunities, to persons whose spiritual instructors and ministers can only receive their existence by such a power, (whether vested in the person of the pope, the Romish church, or a general council,) would be highly dangerous."

14th..." That, notwithstanding the danger of popery to the welfare of this country, we are ready to allow liberty of conscience to those who profess it. We revere the principles of religious toleration, which serve at once to adorn and secure our protestant established church; and we will ever support those principles, while they are exercised in a manner compatible with the peace of the community. But in the demands of the Roman catholics of Ireland, we see nothing merely religious; indeed, their religious privileges are already so ample and well secured, that they scarcely admit of farther extension, unless their church is to receive positive encouragement, and to become the established religion of the kingdom."

15th..." That we would exceedingly lament, if the rejection of the claims of the Roman catholics should occasion resistance to the laws, or be attended with alienation from the government; but we are convinced, that if such would be the consequence of their rejection, their admission would be attended with consequences far more fatal to the empire at large, inasmuch as it would place the means of effectual mischief within the power of those whose supposed disloyalty would be again excited, should every future claim, however extravagant, not be admitted: but we conceive, that from the clamour of those, whose ambition interests them so powerfully in this question, it has received an importance of a more extensive quality than really belongs to it. The lower orders of society have comparatively no interest in it. The adoption of it would not ameliorate their condition. The rich and the powerful, or those in the immediate pursuit of riches and power, would alone reap the fruits of it; and if persons of this description

were to excite rebellion, because they are not rendered eligible to possess political power, what would they not do, if they were disappointed in obtaining the power, after they had obtained the eligibility?"

16th..." That, as the liberal and tolerant concessions which have been made to the Roman catholics, during the reign of his present majesty, with which they declared themselves, at the time, to be fully satisfied, have rather served to excite, than to allay discontent; and, instead of raising gratitude and attachment, have prompted them to demand as a right, the most extensive accession of political power, urged with great violence of language, we do not conceive that the concession of those claims would either increase their attachment to our protestant government, or add to the security or happiness of Ireland, or the kingdom at large."

17th..." That acknowledging in the king, the power of negativing the appointment of Roman catholic bishops, is one of the lowest of those securities which the state has a right to demand, on the admission of Roman catholics to farther political power; but they refuse to admit even this security, and positively deny the necessity of any other.—In the resolutions of the meeting of the catholics of the county of Dublin, held on the 5th of November, 1812, it was resolved, 'That they deem the idea of annexing any conditions or restrictions to their emancipation, under the name of securities, to imply a most unmerited insult to their allegiance, and to their understanding, and that such an idea has originated with their worst enemies, for the mere purpose of delaying the concession of religious freedom, which they claim as a right, and the concession of which they deem essential to the safety of the country.' Which resolution, we consider to be virtually approved by the Roman catholic prelates (twenty-eight in number,) assembled at Dublin, the 18th of November, 1812! in their address to the clergy and laity of the Roman catholic churches in Ireland. We do therefore apprehend, that, as the principles of the

Roman catholics are now notorious to the world, (and the *onus probandi* lies upon them to shew, from sufficient authority, if they are altered,) no farther inquiry is necessary, till they have distinctly stated the nature of those specific securities which they are willing to give, on their admission to farther political power."

18th..." That a committee (with power to add to their number,) be chosen to conduct the affairs of the society, to frame regulations for its management, and to publish its proceedings; and that a subscription be now opened for those purposes."

19th..." That Stephen Cattley, esq. be treasurer."

20th" That these resolutions be signed by the chairman, and advertised in the public papers."

" GRANVILLE SHARP."

" Mr. Sharp having left the chair"—

" Resolved, that the thanks of the meeting be given to the chairman, for his unwearied attention to the objects of this meeting, and for his impartial conduct in the chair."

" JOHN HICKEN, *SECRETARY*."

" The committee will be happy to receive any useful communications, respecting the objects of the Protestant Union, addressed to the secretary, Mr. Hicken, at Mr. Bickerstaff's, bookseller, Essex-street, Strand, London, where copies of the resolutions of the society may be had gratis."

*** " Subscriptions to defray the expenses of printing, advertising, &c. are received at Messrs. Hoare's, bankers, Fleet-Street; Messrs. Barnard, Dimsdale, and Co. bankers, No. 50, Corn-Hill, London; and at Mr. Bickerstaff's, as above."

On the 5th of February, the trial of Mr. Hugh Fitzpatrick, bookseller, of Capel-street, Dublin, came on in the court of king's bench, for the publication of a false libel, in a note contained in a work, entitled, " A Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of

Ireland." This note, introduced by the words, "tragical instance," is as follows:—"At the summer assizes of Kilkenny, in 1810, one Barry was convicted of a capital offence, for which he was afterwards executed. This man's case was truly tragical. He was wholly innocent; was a respectable catholic farmer, in the county of Waterford, in good circumstances. His innocence was clearly established, in the interval between his conviction and execution; yet he was hanged, publicly avowing his innocence!!! There were some shocking circumstances attending his case, which the duke of Richmond's administration may yet be invited to explain to parliament."

The attorney-general produced the documents, which proved the falsehood of this statement, and exposed the true state of the case. Barry had been tried at Kilkenny, on two indictments; the one for a capital, the other for a transportable felony. The lord chief justice of the common pleas, Lord Norbury, charged the jury to find him guilty on both; but the jury only found on the transportable felony, and he was sentenced to transportation. While in Kilkenny gaol, he was informed on a Saturday, that an indictment for a highway robbery had been found against him at Clonmel, and that he was to be tried on Monday. He was accordingly sent to Clonmel on Sunday. His counsel was instructed to make out an affidavit, stating, that he had several respectable witnesses, who could prove an *alibi*, but who resided at fifty miles distance from Clonmel, and that therefore the trial ought to be deferred until next commission. The judge did not, however, conceive that the grounds were sufficiently strong, as the robbery had been committed in open day-light, and the gentleman who was robbed, had a full view of the person who robbed him.

"This man," said the attorney-general, "who had been indicted upon two acts of felony, and found guilty upon one of them, after having been caught in the act, was the respectable catholic farmer of whom the libel spoke!—But lest any thing should even after all be attached to the word catholic, it was neccessary to state, that the man's religion was never known during his trial.

It was rumoured that the author of this false and wicked libel was a barrister. He hoped in God the rumour was false—he hoped so, for the honour of the profession; for the author of such a publication would be a disgrace to it."

Mr. Scully said, that he would mention the name of the author, were the attorney-general to allow an investigation to take place, as to the truth of the allegations.

The attorney-general stated, that the proper place for such investigation was in parliament; that his majesty's government might be impeached there, and brought to trial; but that he could never allow, nor would the law allow, that the lord-lieutenant of Ireland should be brought to the bar of the king's bench on the accusation of libellers.

Mr. Fitzpatrick was found guilty of having published this false libel.

The remarks I shall make on the work which contains this atrocious libel, shall be few and concise. It is a complication of falsehood. It says—"The judges are appointed, not in consequence of legal ability, but of known hostility to the catholics." Again—"If the crown should think proper to institute criminal proceedings against catholic individuals, for alleged misdemeanors, breach of the peace, public libel, seditious words or acts, high treason, &c.; if a catholic should happen to be involved in a dispute with a corporation, or justice of the peace, &c.; the court of king's bench becomes, in all these cases, the great tribunal of judgment, and exercises a summary jurisdiction. The judges of the court, therefore, when actuated by the virulent spirit of the anti-catholic code, must become the instruments of grievous and heavy oppression; they may display the most flagrant partiality. That all these foul practices do exist, we *dare not affirm;* neither shall we adduce particular instances. The pomp and bearing of judicial office lend an outward shew of purity; and, from ancient times, it has been permitted to every judge, however weak or pliant, to shield his infirmities or his vices by the exterior of gravity and decorum." Again—"We feel that we have under-rated the real extent of catholic complaint against the present principle of ad-

ministering justice in Ireland. Instances are innumerable, and proofs conclusive, in support of a statement far more aggravated. Verdicts have been frequently procured, wholly contradictory to evidence; reprobated even by the sitting judge, and not to be accounted for, otherwise than upon the marked principle of religious prejudice. Catholic prisoners are brought to trial upon charges affecting their lives; the evidence failing, the crown lawyers abandon the prosecution as untenable; the judge directs an acquittal; and yet the jury finds a verdict of guilty. Again, protestants are prosecuted for gross outrages against the property and persons of catholics—for robbery and murder. The evidence is clear and connected—the judge charges unfavourably; and yet, to the amazement of unreflecting spectators, the jury acquits instantly. In cases where the protestant murderer or robber has been convicted, his *protestantism* secures his pardon. All the local soi-disant loyalists fall to work: memorials and petitions are prepared and signed; vouchers of excellent character are easily procured; even catholics *dare* not withhold their signatures, lest they should be stigmatized as sanguinary and merciless. Thus the testimony appears unanimous, and the lord-lieutenant readily pardons, perhaps *promotes the convict;* who, in some instances, becomes thenceforth a cherished object of favour. On the other hand, when the prisoner is a catholic, he is generally destitute of this powerful agency and interference. His witnesses, as may be expected, are usually persons of his own condition and family. It is true, they may swear positively to an effectual and legal defence, wholly uncontradicted; but not being protestants, (i. e. *respectable*, the epithet affectedly attached to every thing protestant,) they commonly fail to meet with credit.—Should he be convicted, a thousand rumours are immediately circulated to the prejudice of his general character: he is proscribed as a dangerous man, a leader of a faction: no grand jury interposes in his behalf; and he suffers death, publicly protesting his innocence, fortified by the testimony of his confessor's belief of his veracity, and exciting the sympathy and regrets of the people." Then

follows, the instance of "poor Barry," of which the reader is in possession; and who, it appears, had confessed his guilt, to Mr. Elliot, the magistrate before whom he had been originally taken; though he went out of the world with a lie in his mouth, "publicly avowing his innocence! —fortified by the testimony of his confessor's belief of his veracity!"

Having thus exhibited the *falsehood* of this infamous "Statement," it remains that the reader be enabled to ascertain the *purpose* of it. He will be assisted in his conclusion by the following quotation:—"In every point of view, they" (the Romanists) "form a truly important subject of inquiry and reflection. In numbers they have prodigiously increased, and they are continually increasing beyond example in any other country. Already they compose the far greater part of the trading and manufacturing interests. The agricultural class, so powerful and influential throughout Ireland, the land-holders, farmers, peasantry, are almost universally catholics. They occupy the most VALUABLE POSITIONS, whether for commercial or for MILITARY purposes; the boldest coasts, most navigable rivers, and most TENABLE PASSES; the most fertile districts, the readiest supplies of forage, the readiest means of ATTACK AND DEFENCE: numerically, they constitute full *five-sixth parts* of the Irish population; and, compared with the members of the established church, they are at least *ten to one*;—a proportion rapidly advancing of late years. The open country is in their almost exclusive occupation.—The gross population of Ireland is moderately estimated at five millions of inhabitants. Of this number we may, without exaggeration, state the catholics as amounting to four millions two hundred thousand. In fine, *the catholics are emphatically the people of Ireland.*"

The most superficial observer will here be able to discern the immediate purpose and the "ulterior views."

Of "the penal laws which aggrieve the catholics of Ireland," it would be idle to occupy time or room with repetition of a false "Statement." Of reply, I flatter myself this treatise will be found to contain enough, not only to the insidious and jesuitical "Statement,"

which I have now briefly reviewed, but also to every other of the same base and spurious species. The protestant religion, the protestant establishment in church and state, and the jurisprudence of these countries, stand on an unassailable ROCK, from which they mock the malignant but contemptible efforts of all ignorant, groveling, and priest-ridden opponents; who have not yet been able to discern how to emancipate themselves, the true and only emancipation for their own vital interests; and who are not sensible of the blessings our unrivalled constitution confers upon all its subjects indiscriminately, and the protection it affords against "*the authority of the church*," even to themselves. In their own DOUAY VERSION of the scriptures, which had been slowly and reluctantly wrung from "the church," by the laudable, increased, and unextinguishable efforts of vast numbers of its own members, is the following note, on the 8th verse of the 17th chapter of Deuteronomy.—"Here we see what authority God was pleased to give to the church guides of the Old Testament, in deciding, without appeal, all controversies relating to the law; promising that they should not err therein, and punishing with DEATH such as proudly refused to obey their decisions: and surely he has not done less for the church guides of the New Testament." The only comment I shall make on language so plain, will be a little additional information to the reader. This note is preserved, then, in the last edition of the Douay Bible, published recently. But I shall give three applicable questions which have been proposed, in the Dublin Correspondent newspaper, to the Romish hierarchy, at the conclusion of a letter addressed to them on the subject, and requiring answers.

1st..."Is it still a tenet of the church of Rome, that her clergy have a right to punish, with death, those who refuse to submit to their decisions on religious subjects?"

2nd..."If it be not, when was it renounced, and by what authority; and is the authority by which it has been renounced, the same as that by which it was formerly maintained and acted on, namely, the authority of the church?"

3d..." If it has ceased to be a tenet of the Roman catholic faith, and has been renounced by the authority of the church, why has there been re-published and circulated through the country, by the permission of the Romish hierarchy, a note, which still maintains the right of the clergy to punish with *death*, those who refuse to submit to their decisions in matters of religion?"

To these questions, no answers have been given.—Why?—No doubt, their graces, lordships, &c. invested with this "authority," and not liable to "err" in their "decisions," have not thought it worth while. This, then, is among the blessings suited to the craving appetites of "Patriots," in thirst of blood, which they contemplate as fit to supersede the "*Grievances*" endured under the British constitution! A Romish establishment, in all its pomp and circumstance of mummery—wealth and power, extensive and indefinite—subjection to the "decisions of the church guides," on pain of "death"—with all the attendant tyranny and horrors!——These are the blessings which jesuitical lawyers propose for our acceptance, and teach us we should eagerly assist in endeavouring to procure. To be sure such is not laid down in express words in the "Statement;" for, perhaps, as the "philosophical" author observed in another place, he dared not: but a little attention to its oblique propositions, will elicit its latent meaning.

On the 12th of February, the Protestant Union published an address, as follows:—

"PROTESTANT UNION."

"Address of the Protestant Union, for the Defence and Support of the Protestant Religion and British Constitution: as established at the glorious revolution in 1688."

"At a meeting of the committee of the Protestant Union, held February 12, 1813.

"GRANVILLE SHARP, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR."

"Resolved—that the following address be published:"

"It is an observation of Addison, that 'there is no greater sign of a general decay of virtue in a nation than

a want of zeal in its inhabitants for the good of their country.' If political violence and party clamour be the just criterion of zeal, then indeed we have no such decay to lament: since they are too much the characteristic features of the present times. Whereas the vast magnitude of those subjects which now force themselves upon the national councils for consideration, demand from every man the exercise of the most exalted principles, and the purest views; moderation, firmness, and manly independence; a total absence of every selfish principle; and a prudence which resorts to experience of the past, that it may judge of the probabilities of the future; are those indispensable qualifications which he must bring to the consideration of these great questions, who desires to form just conclusions upon them—questions upon which every man in the country does or ought to feel the most anxious interest. This zeal, which this excellent writer in another place calls 'the love of our country,' and which, as a moral virtue, he describes to be 'a fixed disposition of mind to promote the safety, welfare, and reputation of the community in which we are born, and of the constitution under which we are protected,' it is to be feared is not in exercise to an extent commensurate with the dangers which threaten our tranquillity and happiness. Patriotism, which Gisborne terms, 'a peculiar affection for our countrymen, attended with an active zeal to promote their welfare;' is unquestionably a moral duty; and no former period of our history ever claimed its exertions more loudly than the present."

"With a view then to the promotion of this patriotism and love of our country, as well as to excite it in others, the Protestant Union is formed; and its members have determined to awaken, if possible, the attention of their countrymen to one of the most momentous subjects which have been agitated in Great Britain since the glorious revolution; and to place it before them in its real and undisguised character;—they allude to that which is termed, but they think improperly termed,—"Catholic Emancipation."

"Civil and religious liberty has been ever dear to Englishmen.—Multitudes have perished in its defence; and our countrymen still view with a jealous eye whatever tends to injure it. They well know that our admirable constitution secures equal liberty and protection to the persons and property of the poor as well as the rich, and that our laws protect every man in the peaceable worship of God, according to the dictates of his own conscience. To this source we trace that strength and happiness, that energy and wisdom, which have extended the power, the influence, and the renown of this realm; and enabled it to withstand all its enemies, however numerous, subtile, and malignant. And it is to this excellent system, under Divine Providence, that the domestic improvements of our country, its benevolent and religious institutions flourish, and afford a satisfactory proof of great advancement in the *moral* condition of the people."

"Certainly this state of things has been produced under a protestant ascendancy. The government of the country, during the progress of this national happiness, has been purely protestant; and it has carefully excluded Roman catholics from its legislative and executive functions. It has been its policy to confine the crown to a protestant monarch, and to take care that a protestant monarch should only be advised by a protestant council and ministry; that our legislators and the higher officers of the state should be protestants. This is what it has invariably been since the revolution; for as Mr. Burke has observed—'our church is protestant, our state is protestant, our government is protestant in all its parts."

"This policy, recognised and supported by the law, and which has given beauty and strength to the magnificent fabric of the British constitution, was the result of many a struggle, endured by our forefathers with painful and inflexible constancy, against popery and arbitrary power; these they found inseparable, and therefore they sent them together into exile. Indeed it was in those arduous conflicts that the qualities we so much venerate in the honest patriots and holy martyrs, and which shed a lustre upon our annals, were so conspicuous, and their

examples are chiefly valuable to us, as indicating the course of conduct we ought to pursue, for preserving those civil and religious rights, which are essential to our happiness, and the welfare of the community."

"The Protestant Union, satisfied of the wisdom of this policy, and considering that its continuance is indispensable to the security and tranquillity of the country, cannot but view, with painful solicitude, the pretensions of the Roman catholics, whose claims to farther political power they deem perfectly incompatible with the principles of the constitution. They are demanded to an extent which has no limit; and are urged with a vehemence, and in a language, which afford no proof that the power, when acquired, would be exercised with moderation towards the feelings and interest of others. They demand, without exception, the removal of all civil disabilities which attach on account of their religious tenets; and they peremptorily place that demand on the ground of right, which renders it superfluous to ask security for the proper exercise of power. The extent of their demands, and the spirit in which they are urged, naturally lead to the consideration of the effect which a compliance with them would produce in the protestant constitution of this kingdom—a constitution not ideal—not depending upon uncertain and arbitrary constructions—but embodied in the laws and statutes of the realm, and especially in those which are classed among the most solemn acts of the legislature. For, if such distinctions can for a moment be allowed, we may not be unwarranted in affirming, that the Bill of Rights, the Acts for the Settlement of the Crown, and the Acts for the Union of Scotland and Ireland, are to be considered not as ordinary, simple, legislative enactments, but as several grand compacts between the sovereign and the country, and between different masses of population, in the great divisions of the empire. They were as much the direct acts of the country itself, as of its legislators; and when they were passed, it was understood that they should be perpetuated. While these bulwarks are to remain the monuments of the wisdom of our sages, and the barriers

of the liberties of our protestant state, and are to furnish the sacred aphorisms of its government, the Protestant Union will not fail to lend its aid for their preservation, by diffusing a just knowledge of the principles upon which they are founded. But, if they are to be undermined or destroyed, the Protestant Union will at least have the satisfaction to reflect, that they have called the attention of their fellow countrymen to the subject, before the adoption of a measure, which they apprehend may prove fatal to our civil liberties, to our national church, and that religious freedom which is essential to the interests of the dissenters, and various denominations of christians in this country."

"Sir Hercules Langrishe, (who was a sincere advocate for the Roman catholics,) in the debates of 1793, when the bill was brought into the Irish parliament, for conferring the elective franchise upon the Irish Roman catholics, and when they were rendered eligible to offices, to a great extent, thus expressed himself:—'I have long wished that the time was come, which would form a new æra of Irish concord, of Irish consequence, and Irish prosperity; in which religious dissention should be lost in civil operation; in which community of interests, and reciprocal good offices, should root out our prejudices, and unite our hearts. But, until the enlightened spirit of liberal policy had given a progress to these rational dispositions, a communication of political power could not be expected; for you must reconcile, before you can unite; you must assimilate, before you incorporate. No body of men should for a moment suffer themselves, in their pursuits, to be unmindful that there is a settled supreme power in the state, to which, so long as the constitution exists, every man owes respect; that it may be solicited, but must be obeyed; that it may be softened, but must not be subdued.' However this eloquent senator might have been flattered by the Roman catholics, in 1793, we discern in their late proceedings, but few symptoms of acquiescence in his excellent sentiments. Do they approach either their protestant brethren, or their protestant government, with the dispositions so well

described by their great advocate? Against the former, they approach as against their enemies; to the latter, they advance not in the language of solicitation, but of demand, as for a right. They seem to consider us as enemies, in withholding from them what they term their just rights. They do not offer to share our burdens, and partake of our benefits, with the brotherly feeling which can alone make co-operation useful or attainable. And, viewing us as enemies, they place themselves in the attitude of menace. They attempt to storm the habitation of power; and, if they succeed, we should be irrational to expect to be treated as friends and coadjutors, having a community of interests."

"Knowing how much we value religious toleration, they mask their views, as in the reign of James the second, under the name of religious liberty. They know there is an essential difference between that invaluable right, and political power. The one, they already possess; and although they have, at present, considerable political power, they aim at that extension of it, which might enable them to rule supremely. To ask this in plain terms, would alarm the fears of all; and therefore they make use of those sacred principles which we all value, and all dread to transgress. The question can scarcely be said even to bear upon the religious advantages of the Roman catholics, as they are already so ample, and so well protected; but it does bear, with great and direct force, upon the religious rights of protestants; and it is for them seriously to consider, whether a grant of farther political power to the Roman catholics, will not ultimately destroy the protection and the remedies which flow from these rights. It is not now for our consideration, which is the best mode of faith, but whether the religion of the Roman catholic can allow him to be a tolerant governor of a protestant people? Whether the admission to farther political power, of those who conscientiously profess that religion, the spirit of whose principle is intolerance, which it inculcates as a sacred duty, can be compatible with the religious liberty of protestants, whether dissenter, or of the established church? It will

be one part of the duty of the Protestant Union, to inquire and illustrate this essential part of the subject. In resisting the claims of the Roman catholics, the Protestant Union have neither the intention, nor the desire, to excite groundless clamour against their principles, or hostilities to their persons. On the contrary, they are convinced, that it is of the last importance, if, while the constitution is preserved unimpaired, its Roman catholic population can by any means be rendered more efficient for the legitimate end of all government, the happiness and security of the empire."

"The Protestant Union most feelingly deprecate violence in all; whether in those who claim, or in those who resist, the proposed concessions. It would be to them matter of sincere regret, if either should use those watch-words, too frequently employed by party men, which are as indeterminate in their meaning, as they are mischievous in their effects. They can see nothing in the cry of 'no popery,' more friendly to the right understanding and determination of this great question of domestic policy, than in that of 'no bigotry.' They are equally calculated to mislead, and to raise the passions, without guiding the understanding."

"The society have no partialities to indulge, nor any antipathies to gratify, at the expense of any portion of the community; their object is to lend their aid in preserving the constitution in all its integrity. And they know, from experience, that this will best serve the true interests of the United Kingdom. The conciliation, however, so much desired, does not rest with the protestant, but with the Roman catholic part of the community. The protestant chearfully allows to the Roman catholic, the liberty of freely exercising his own religion, but the Roman catholic has not advanced one step nearer to his protestant brother. The protestant allows, that the Roman catholic may be saved in his own church; but the Roman catholic does not exercise the same charity towards the protestant. He is still a heretic. To him, as a protestant, the church of Rome is not reconciled, nor does she suffer her children to be reconciled to him.

There is no brotherly feeling yet in existence; nay, on the contrary, there is unequivocal enmity; and the same lust of domination and coercion prevails, as ever reigned in their church. That church has not yet learned to admit the principles of even bare toleration, much less of religious liberty; and she is at this day as much indisposed to learn this lesson, as in any former period."

"If all these points were fully known by all the protestants, the result would be certain; the danger from intrusting farther political power to the Roman catholics, would be obvious. But some affect to deny those to be the tenets of the church of Rome; or, at any rate, that they are her tenets at this day. It shall, therefore, be one of the duties of the Protestant Union, to procure and disperse information upon this point. From an extensive correspondence with Ireland, they are in possession of a multitude of facts, and the observations of many well informed dispassionate men, in different parts of that island, which throw considerable light upon the subject. From this correspondence, they probably may publish such extracts as appear to bear upon the question, and which may serve to illustrate the present tenets of the church of Rome, and their effects upon society, in that part of the United Kingdom. Should the Protestant Union deem it necessary to circulate such information, they will be so far responsible for its authenticity, as that nothing shall be published, which they do not receive from the most unimpeachable sources; and, as the authors of different letters adopt their own reasoning, and, of course, with different degrees of conclusiveness, the society, in case of publication, as it will not feel itself at liberty to interfere with either the reasonings or the conclusions, so it will not consider itself responsible for every expression."

"Although the Protestant Union have already been favoured with very extensive communications, they cannot but invite farther information, upon the subject of those tenets of the Roman catholic church, which are yet unhappily in operation upon the Irish people."

"The Protestant Union are aware, that it has been frequently thrown out, that the tenets of the Roman catholics are altered, and are not now hostile to the peace and welfare of a protestant kingdom. To ascertain the fact, the *onus probandi* lies upon them; and, if they had produced the necessary proof, the Protestant Union would have had no existence, nor would zealous protestants have had occasion to tremble for the admission of Roman catholics into the highest offices of the state. Let them produce authentic and incontrovertible evidence of the happy alteration, and how and when it took place, and the functions of the Protestant Union will be ended. But they fear, that the real state of the Irish Roman catholic population, will but too truly demonstrate the deteriorating effect of the Roman catholic influence; and that the safety and happiness of the country, must (under God,) still depend upon a protestant ascendancy."

"It is said also, that if you will give the Roman catholics farther power, and which, it is added, you may give them, without danger to the state, you will satisfy and conciliate them. So it was said by Mr. Secretary Hobart, in 1793, when he brought in the bill to which we have already referred. That right honourable gentleman said: 'I know that what we are doing, will essentially serve the country—it will conciliate the Roman catholics—it will cement a common union of interest and affection among his majesty's subjects—and enable this country to repel all her enemies.' But how has it turned out? So far from union, we have had dissentions; and instead of conciliating, the measure itself has served both as an encouragement to prefer farther demands, and a powerful engine for attaining them. And did this measure enable the country to repel her enemies? On the contrary, her domestic foes, whether from this act or not, we shall not determine, did gain consistency and strength, and within five years they broke out in open rebellion! Without entering into the question, whether the rebellion had religious or civil power, or both, for its object, it is an undoubted fact, that the main body of the rebels were Roman catholics; that Roman catholic priests were

commanders of troops, and advisers in their councils; and that unoffending protestants were massacred, without regard to age or sex, in the most barbarous manner. The cruelties exercised at Wexford, Scullabogue, and other parts of Ireland, in the year 1798, rival those of the worst days of popery."

"As facts are stubborn things, and sometimes irritate by the efficacy of the resistance, we shall not be surprised if the Protestant Union should be accused of illiberality and harshness; but, if this irritation should be occasioned by the facts, the Union will not be to blame. The fault will be in those concerned in the facts related, and with the community in which they shall have had birth. The Protestant Union can only control their own language and operation; and they will take care to use that moderation which best befits their cause—which is not that of ambition, violence, or intolerance. But, if firmness in executing the duty they have undertaken, should offend, they will not be very careful about the imputations which may be cast upon them. They wish the truth to prevail; and if the Protestant Union have taken a wrong view of the subject, and, after all, their fears should prove unfounded, they will still rejoice in the liberty, the happiness, and the power of the country, whoever may be admitted to power, and by whomsoever its government shall be administered. However, as the Protestant Union feel the great importance of this subject, to the future prosperity and welfare of the empire, they cannot reconcile it to patriotism, or to duty, not to draw the serious attention of the protestant part of the community, to what concerns them so nearly; and, after it has placed this subject before the face, and upon the conscience of the country, it will be the business of the Protestant Union to yield to the public voice, whatever that voice may express. But, should the nation itself adopt the policy of rendering the Roman catholics eligible to all the highest offices of state, the Protestant Union may find useful employment in watching narrowly the progress of that ascendancy, which has never yet been friendly to either civil or religious liberty. As its resolutions declare

so much at large the principles of the Union, it is unnecessary here to detail them farther; but while the society exists, its principles will ever be, to maintain inviolate the Bill of Rights, which secured our civil liberties; the Acts of Settlement, which secured the throne to the house of Brunswick; and the Acts of Union, which consolidated the strength of the empire; and, at the same time, to support our national church, and that religious freedom, under which all classes of christians in the empire, including the Roman catholics themselves, are protected in the peaceable exercise of their religion. Their wish is, to transmit unsullied and undefaced to their children, that civil and religious liberty which they have received from their fathers."

"GRANVILLE SHARP, *CHAIRMAN*."

On the 25th of February, Mr. Grattan moved for a committee on the claims of the Roman Catholics.

Mr. Bankes said:—"The church of Rome not only does not renounce any tenet which she ever held, but glories in her perpetual unity of doctrine; referring, as to an unquestionable and an authentic text, to the councils, canons, and bulls, of all former times. Her advocates here would defend her, upon a supposed departure from these principles, which they state not to be disclaimed indeed, but to be grown obsolete, and impossible to be called into activity. But she rejects all such defence; she maintains, that whatever has been once laid down, is unchanged and unchangeable. If her rules of action be the same as in the dark ages, is it reasonable to suppose that her conduct would be different, if she were invested with the same power?"

Mr. Bankes read extracts from a remonstrance, in 1808, of the present bishop of Rome, against an ordinance by Buonaparte, viz.:—

'A claim is set up for the freedom of every sort of worship, with the public exercise thereof; which, as being contrary to the canons, to the councils, and to the catholic religion, we have rejected.—A reformation of bishoprics is called for, and the independence of the

bishops upon us; which, being contrary to the intention of our legislator, Jesus Christ, we protest that we will maintain, for ourselves and our successors, the plenitude of our supremacy.—Out of the catholic church, there is no hope of salvation.—The French system of indifference or equality, with regard to all religions, is utterly opposite to the catholic; which, being the only one of divine institution, cannot form any alliance with any other, any more than Christ can league with Belial.—It is false, that the concordat has recognised and established the independence of the church of France; or that it has given a sanction to the toleration of other modes of worship.'

Mr. Edward Protheroe said:—"The protestant advocates of the Roman catholic cause, take their ground with circumspection. Unable to conceal the intolerant spirit, and dangerous tenets of the church of Rome, recorded in the page of history, they aver that modern Roman catholics have renounced these doctrines, and triumphantly produce their proof, in answer to certain queries proposed to foreign universities. Need I reply, that every true catholic acknowledges the authority of a general council, duly held under the sovereign pontiff, to be infallible, and submits his conscience implicitly to its decrees; whereas, he knows no such authority, in his church, as that of an university? I cannot but observe, too, that not one of these universities intimates, that the belief of the catholic church is, in the slightest degree, changed, or capable of change; and, though they disavow certain doctrines to be those of their church, they do not deny that she retains every article of the faith which she professed, when the horrors of a bigoted persecution presented to this country, its practical illustration."

"When the Test Law was introduced into the house of lords, Lord Bristol candidly avowed, 'that as a faithful member of a protestant parliament, his advice went with the main scope of the bill; though, as a catholic of the church of Rome, his conscience obliged him to give his negative to it."

The Right Honourable Robert Peel said:—"Though the committee is dissolved, yet every individual member

who composed it, was re-appointed by an aggregate meeting of the catholics to act on the part of that body; and they are now pursuing, precisely, the same course, in their new capacity, which they did in their old. The catholic committee, when a decision in a court of justice had proved its illegality, was undoubtedly changed in its name, and in its form of appointment, and it now skulks behind the law which its former constitution had violated." Mr. Peel stated, that the protestant petitions against the Romish claims, arose out of the resolution of the house of commons the last session. He farther said:—"We want no preamble nor clause in a modern act of parliament, to assure us that the protestant religion is the religion of the state, and that we are absolved from our allegiance to a catholic sovereign. We do not want to hunt through the statute book for the laws on which the constitution is founded, nor to be referred, from the Bill of Rights, by a note in the margin, to an act passed in the fifty-third of George the third, commonly called, Mr. Grattan's act."

"But, according to the right honourable gentleman, the protestants are actuated, in their opposition to the catholics, by narrow motives of exclusion, or by the bigoted spirit of a sect. I remember the insidious comparison which the right honourable gentleman drew between the petitions of the respective parties. 'The catholics,' said he, 'petition for the ascendancy of the law, the protestants for the ascendancy of a sect.' Of a sect! to what sect do we belong?—To the protestant religion, as by law established. To what laws do we adhere?—To those under which this empire has lived and flourished for ages: we are satisfied with them, and let those who ask for the change, be called upon to prove its necessity."

"This committee, into which we are required to enter, is not a committee upon the claims of the catholics, but a committee to review and revise the British constitution; where the protestant religion is to be put on its defence, and to be heard by counsel at the bar."

"I do not understand on what grounds it can be argued, that it is more inconsistent with the principles of the

constitution, to admit the catholics to the throne, than to the other branches of the legislature. They were excluded from the latter at an earlier period than from the former. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, they were incapacitated from holding office; in the reign of Charles the second, they were excluded from the house of commons and the house of lords; but it was not until the period of the revolution, that a catholic was rendered incapable of inheriting the crown and government of these realms."

"I will not now argue, whether the grant of the elective franchise was a wise one or not, but I can see reasons for that concession which in no way apply to the concession of the farther privileges, which are now demanded. We have said to the catholics, you are in possession of property—you shall have the franchise which property confers—you shall not be taxed without your own consent—you shall exert an influence in the state—but we insist on this qualification in your representative, that he shall disavow opinions and tenets, which we conceive to be hostile to the establishment of this country in church and state."

This is but an outline, prominent passages, of Mr. Peel's able and constitutional speech.

The Right Honourable Mr. Ryder said:—"It was urged that the sentiments of the protestants, both here and in Ireland, were changed; and this argument appeared, at that time, to derive some countenance from the absence of petitions from any considerable number of the protestant body. It has, however, since been proved, that the silence of the country was owing, as I have always contended, not to indifference nor apathy to this great question, involving, as they believe, the dearest interests of their own religion; but to a laudable reluctance, not unnecessarily to agitate the public mind upon questions, of all others, the most likely to excite the worst species of contest; to confidence, that their represntatives, entertaining the same opinion with themselves, would give no encouragement to claims, which could not be safely conceded; and that confidence has been confirmed, year after year, by the uniform conduct of parliament, until the close of the last session."

"Since that period, however, the table of the house has been loaded with petitions against these claims.—The only practicable inference to be drawn from them is, what I believe will not be denied, that the general sense of this part of the empire, and a large majority of the protestants of Ireland, are decidedly hostile to the measure of farther concession."

Mr. Henry Lascelles said:—"It has been stated, in the course of this debate, by an honourable member, whose authority on this subject is great, that use has been made of the catholic question in Ireland, by the disaffected, and those who wish to render it instrumental towards the disunion of the two countries. I must observe, that I should have considered a disclaimer of such proceedings, by the sound part of the catholics, as indicatory of a conciliatory disposition: I could have wished that such disclaimer had taken place."

Sir William Scott alluded to declarations of the bishop of Rome, in pastoral instructions, 22nd of May, 1808—'We reject that all religions should be free and publicly exercised, as contrary to the canons and councils, the catholic religion, the tranquillity of life, and the good of the state.'——'The protection much boasted of, for different worships, is only a pretext, and a colour to authorize the secular power to meddle in things spiritual; since, in shewing respect for all sects, with all their opinions, customs, and superstitions, a government does not respect, in effect, any right, any institution, any law of the catholic church. Under such protection, is concealed a persecution, the most crafty and dangerous which can be exercised against the religion of Jesus Christ. He does not love or understand our most holy religion, out of which there is no salvation, who does not revolt at such an order of things.'——"These (said Sir William Scott) are the opinions of the supreme head of the church, upon the mere toleration of other worships. If so, what must be his opinion of a state of things, in which another worship is dominant, and the catholic faith is in a state of depression? Do I misrepresent the opinion when I say, it can be no other than this, that

such a state is an inverted and unnatural state, which cannot continue without endangering the salvation of the country where it exists."

"Is there any reason to suppose that the catholic church of Ireland dissents from the opinions of the see of Rome, upon a subject so interesting to their common feelings? I am sure I do not misrepresent the prelates of that church, when I describe them to be the faithful disciples and votaries of that see, and most conscientious in their adherence to its tenets—and most singular it would be, if they deserted it upon a point which is so immediately connected with their own personal interests of every species. It is quite impossible that they, of all men, should be better satisfied than the pope himself is, with the protestant ascendancy, and with the comparative depression of their own church where they live! But it is intimated that the catholic laity hold no such opinions. In the first place, I look in vain for the evidence of that fact.—In the second place, there may be, I believe, some more philosophical spirits, who entertain other opinions, but who are charged, in the suspicions of their brethren, with departing from the strict rules of faith, and whose general opinions, upon these matters, I must say, I have always found extremely difficult to reconcile with the superficial notions of that faith, which I have been able to collect from any exposition of them. But however that may be, I have not a doubt that the number of such persons is comparatively small, and that the general body of the faithful would follow their pastors upon such subjects. It is a remark of that profound observer, who who has been styled the chancellor of human nature, Lord Clarendon, that any agreement which you may make with that body of men, will signify little, unless it is followed by the approbation of their clergy."

"In this state of opinions, I cannot but think there is great hazard in arming such persons with the authority belonging to many of the situations from which they are now excluded. Their opinions unavoidably exclude them. It is a very simple, and I should have thought, a very inoffensive proposition :—'We cannot invest you with power

which, we think, will be employed injuriously to interests we hold dear and sacred, but which you hold mischievous and intolerable. We lament the necessity, but we are compelled to act upon the common principle of self preservation."

Lord Castlereagh said:—"This veto was not proposed either by myself, or by those with whom I had the honour to act. On the contrary, I can venture to state, that it was formally and explicitly proposed to his majesty's ministers by the Roman catholics themselves. I can also state, with the same confidence, that no idea was ever entertained of acquiring patronage in the catholic church, on the part of the government, in consequence of the veto; which was not, as I have observed, the favourite measure of my colleagues or myself; but which, in truth, was first held out as the result of the best wishes and mature deliberations of the catholics themselves. I will be still more explicit on this head; and I can add, that such was their liberality on the occasion, that they ran before the wishes, and out-stripped the desires of the government itself. I am, therefore, authorized in laying down this plain and undeniable principle, that the Roman catholics, in their avowed character, as honest men, have no right to attribute to the government any idea of acquiring patronage in the catholic church by the exercise of the veto."

The motion for a committee was carried by a majority of forty.

In the committee, the 9th of March,—the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, the speaker, said:—"Of the oaths I do not mean to speak lightly, or of the conscientious sense in which they may be taken by honourable men. But we cannot be blind or deaf to all that is to be seen and heard upon this subject. We see in England no very great eagerness to take these oaths, if we may judge by the recent statement of the oaths taken by Roman catholics, and returned to the privy council under the act of 1791; for during the last ten years, there appears to have been but one solitary instance. And however specific the language of these oaths and asseve-

rations, there have not been wanting many explanatory distinctions to do away their effect. Some are said to be solemn and serious, some serious, but not solemn;—we have some that are active, and some that are passive; and in Ireland, the honourable baronet opposite to me (Sir John Hippesley,) well knows, that ecclesiastical monitions have been issued, to warn the Roman catholics from unwarily thinking these oaths more extensively binding than they really are, and from supposing themselves too much under the necessity of forbearing to weaken and disturb the protestant church and government."

"The consequences of such a bill, even if proposed to lie over for consideration, to another session of parliament, will not be indifferent. It will naturally give exaggerated hopes to the Roman catholics, which cannot be ultimately fulfilled, and it will spread universal dissatisfaction through the established church, and hold out the prospect of perpetual conflict and agitation. For I think no maxim more false or dangerous in policy, than that which has been advanced in support of measures like the present, that by adding to the power of those who are hostile to our establishments, we may hope to abate of their enmity."

After stating some concessions that may safely be granted to Romanists, among which are, equal privileges to the English Romanists, with those which the Irish enjoy; the speaker proceeded:

"Foreign intercourse, and even foreign influence, are alleged to be of the essence of the Roman catholic religion. In Ireland, all who have read the instructive publications of the honourable baronet, know that in modern times even aliens have been obtruded and appointed to Roman catholic bishoprics there, and when General Humbert invaded Ireland, and landed at Killala, he found that the Roman catholic bishop of Killala, appointed by the pope, was brother to a rebel general in his own army. These things must no longer be endured. And that the vicars apostolic of England must also be brought within the cognisance of the state, is most evident, from the formidable nature of their powers, which they exercised in the transactions of the year 1790 over the English Roman catholics."

"Upon this point, if the Roman catholic prelates in England and Ireland have any desire to conciliate their protestant fellow subjects, the road is now open to them: this is their day—let them come forward and define the limits of their obedience, and tender the largest submission which any other Roman catholic subjects have ever yielded to any protestant government. If they decline to do so, their disposition will be no longer doubtful. But at all events, whether they do so or not, it behoves government to look to its own security in this question, and new model the provisions of the statute of Elizabeth, and apply it to all parts of the United Kingdom, before any proposal can be entertained even for putting the English and Irish Roman catholics upon a footing of equal privileges.—'Whilst the spiritual supremacy of the pope, is reserved by the Roman catholic clergy out of their allegiance to the state,' in the language of Lord Clarendon, who had amply developed this subject, 'this reserve is illusory of the whole.' Other able writers have truly described it to be 'a mere legerdemain.' And until this is renounced, I would answer the Roman catholic claims for power in the recent language of the northern counties of Ireland—'If you cannot give up what you call your faith, we cannot give up what we know to be our constitution.'"

Sir J. Hippesley said:—"I am far from imputing to the catholics of the United Kingdom any recent abuse of their communications with the see of Rome; but I can see no reason why our municipal regulations should be guided by a less cautious policy in this respect, than the regulations of those states wherein the sovereign himself is in communion with the see of Rome. Without any great stretch of imagination, we can conceive it possible that abuses may exist; as they have existed, and those who are not disposed to take a wider range of inquiry, may satisfy themselves by the perusal of my Lord Chief Justice Coke's fifth report, in Caudry's case, where the whole law of the ancient jurisdiction of the crown is laid down with great perspicuity."

Doctor Duigenan said:—"The council of Constance had decreed, that no oath was binding which was con-

trary to the interest of the church. Any oath to a protestant king was consequently void."

On the 11th of May, Sir John Cox Hippesley moved for a select committee.

Sir John Hippesley said:—"The construction," by the Romanists, "in a printed note subjoined to the oath, is the following:—'All here are agreed, that to violate the above clause, it is necessary to disturb and weaken, not only the protestant religion, but likewise the protestant government. They are connected by the conjunction and, without any comma after "religion." Both must be disturbed and weakened; not in any manner, but precisely by the exercise of the privileges now granted. In other respects, we are in our former situation, as to preaching, teaching, writing, &c. "Weaken," after "disturb," appears rather an expletive, than a word containing a distinct meaning; for it is implied in "disturb," as whoever intends to disturb, *a fortiori*, intends to weaken. Hence the expression is generally understood, and so it has been explained by every one consulted on it—"to weaken by disturbance." Indeed, if or was between disturb and the word weaken, as it was proposed to be, the signification would be changed, and inadmissible.'

"Every catholic state in Europe has promulgated, at various periods, such ordinances as ought to be consulted as authorities, in framing securities against the encroachments of a foreign jurisdiction."

Alluding to "simple repeal:"—"It is sufficient to repel such pretensions, by demonstrating, that in all ages, there is no example of compliance on the part of any government; that there is no example of collation or institution being given to prelates of the Roman communion, in the unqualified terms that such catholics would prescribe; that there is no example of an intercourse being maintained between the see of Rome, and the subjects of any state, whether in communion with Rome, or otherwise, where the government of that state—I mean to be understood, where there exists any dominant church establishment—does not maintain its right of

control over such an intercourse by license, and inspection of correspondence at its pleasure. The exception of the *forum internum*, or penitentiary, is a concession from the crown, not an abstract right, to be maintained independently of government."

The motion for a select committee was lost by a majority of forty-eight.

On the second reading of the bill, the 13th of May—Doctor Duigenan said:—(in allusion to the protestant petition for unconditional repeal)—"That petition could not, with truth, be called the petition of the protestants of Ireland. He had read the whole of it, and the names subscribed did not altogether amount to four thousand, while there were petitions signed by upwards of one hundred thousand protestants of Ireland, against the bill.* It did not contain more than three hundred names of any note. The rest was a collection of obscure signatures, unknown to any person but themselves and their associates—of revolutionary characters, who had long laboured for the ruin of their country, and unfortunately escaped from execution."——

"Why did they (the Romanists,) not take the oath of supremacy? If they took that oath, there might, perhaps, be but little difference in that house upon the subject. But then, it was argued in their favour, that even their refusal to take that oath, proved, that they had a regard to oaths imposed by protestants; for nothing but such oaths had stood in the way of their attaining the object of their wishes. This, however, was easily explained. They made a distinction in their oaths. The oath of supremacy, for instance, related to an article of faith; and to take such an oath, would be considered as an abjuration of their whole religion. In other matters, they would take oaths, without holding themselves bound to fulfil the engagements thus contracted; for other oaths, according to Doctor Troy, and all other theologians,

* However considerable this majority in Ireland, against the bill, its number is trifling, compared with the vast number of petitioners in England, against it. For the quantities of names in these petitions individually, and the immense number of petitions, I refer the reader to the parliamentary debates.

were not binding, according to the decrees of the church, which were unchangeable.——To violate oaths imposed by heretics, when the good of their church required it, was with them neither a lie, nor breach of any moral duties. Such oaths, according to their doctrines, were absolute nullities. They thought, that the protestant religion ought not ever to be tolerated."——

"A manual has been read to the house, which forbad lying and swearing; but that was between catholic and catholic; he apprehended it extended not to their connexions with heretics. He wished the house to look what had been the conduct of those who were to be thus favoured here, in other countries. They would not tolerate the protestant religion, where they had power. For proof of this, they had only to look at the first article of the new constitution of Spain; where it was enacted, that the Roman catholic religion should be the religion of that country, and that no other religion should be tolerated."

"A forty shilling freeholder was generally a labourer, who had a piece of land, about an acre, or frequently less; for which he paid as high a rent as any other person would pay, but he paid it with his labour."——"The owner of such a place, registers himself as a freeholder. He swears that he has a freehold of his own, worth forty shillings a year, after payment of his rent.—These freeholders had so much increased of late years, that in one county, where there were formerly but four hundred votes, there were now eleven thousand: by which means, the elective franchise was placed in the hands of the meanest of the populace."——

"To shew the implacable hostility of the catholic clergy, and their disloyalty to the crown and the state, he noticed their conduct in 1809: when the catholics, at a synod held at Tulloch, in Ireland, by an unanimous resolution, approved of that bull of the pope, which confirmed the elevation of Buonaparte to the imperial crown of France; whereby they acknowledged that usurper, with whom we were at war, as sovereign of France, to the exclusion of its lawful king; and sanctioned a system, which deprived all those inhabitants of France of their

estates, who would not submit to the new order of things. This was not a concern of religion, but an act of disloyalty to their king. What right had they to signify their approbation of that bull? Was it done, from a wish to conciliate Buonaparte, with a view of procuring his assistance? The conduct of the catholics had been such, that instead of giving what they did not possess, there were, he thought, good grounds for withdrawing the elective franchise from them. It had been argued, that as the elective franchise had been given to the Roman catholics, they ought not to withhold the representative privilege. But, in his opinion, the argument proved the reverse of what those who urged it intended it should prove. If the possession of the elective franchise rendered it necessary for the Roman catholics to have the representative privilege, then, in his opinion, they ought to be deprived even of the elective franchise."——

"Doctor Milner, who was the general agent for all the catholics of England and Ireland, maintained, that the obligation of an oath was to be measured by expediency; and Doctor Lanegan, an Irish titular bishop, held nearly the same. In short, there was no such thing as holding them, by any oaths. When, to appease an insurrection of his subjects in Hungary, the emperor of Germany had entered into a treaty with them, and took an oath to observe it faithfully, the pope, in 1712, issued a bull, declaring both the stipulations of the treaty, and the obligation of the oath, to be void."

On the 24th of May, in the committee of the whole house—The speaker said:—"As to oaths, I do not think they are to be undervalued; but they cannot be accepted without some discrimination. Upon enlightened and honourable minds, I do not doubt their obligatory force. It must not, however, be forgotten, that the minds of the great mass of Roman catholic population are in a state of darkness, and absolute subjugation to the priesthood. Of the particular structure of these oaths, I shall not now enter into any discussion; but that they are not to be entirely relied upon, is apparent, by the very conduct of the friends of the bill, and by the necessity

they have felt of superadding regulations, to enforce the same purposes. We must also bear in mind, by whom these oaths are to be interpreted, and how they have been interpreted. Nor can we shut our eyes against the notorious fact, that the sovereign pontiff, not in ancient times, but so lately as in the year 1809, by a solemn instruction to the prelates of his church, has commanded them to distinguish between the passive oaths which may be taken, and the active oaths, which may not be taken, by the Roman catholics of any heretical state; and has declared, that all oaths taken to the prejudice of the church, are null and void."

"Nor are these doctrines to be found only in Italy; it is well known to the honourable baronet, and probably to many other members of this house, that in London also, and within the last forty-eight hours, distinctions of the same sort have been promulgated, in the name, and by the authority, of a leading prelate of the Roman catholic church, and circulated throughout this metropolis."——

"As to the regulations of the clergy, and the restrictions of foreign intercourse, for the purpose of giving us some domestic security against foreign encroachments, (whether the concessions now proposed, or any, or none, are to be granted,) these, I think, are necessary matters for legislation."

Sir John Nicholl, after having adverted to the advocates and the opponents of the bill, said:—"There is a third class of members, and probably not inconsiderable in number, who have not made up their opinions upon the subject; who hitherto have not resisted, and some have even supported the progress of the measure, from a desire to see its precise character and extent, before they come to any final decision. It is this third class of members whose attention is particularly solicited, and who are requested now to pause, and consider what will be the effect of the bill, if carried in its present form, &c."——

"Even while the whole state was catholic in form, and before the name of protestantism existed, our catholic ancestors, in the spirit of protestantism, found it necessary to resist with firmness, the pretensions and encroach-

ments of the see of Rome; in proof of which, reference may be had to various acts of parliament passed before the reformation."

The bill was thrown out by a majority of four; there having been for it, two hundred and forty-seven; and against it, two hundred and fifty-one.

On the 26th of May, was published the following

"PASTORAL ADDRESS."

"The Roman catholic prelates assembled in Dublin, to the clergy and laity of the Roman catholic church in Ireland."

"REVEREND BROTHERS, BELOVED CHILDREN, PEACE BE WITH YOU."

"Solicitude for the spiritual interests of our beloved flocks, obliges us once more to suspend the exercise of our other pastoral duties, in order to deliberate, in common, upon the present posture of our religious concerns."

"We hasten to declare to you the lively feelings of gratitude excited in our breasts, by the gracious condescension of the legislature, in taking into its consideration the disabilities which still affect the catholic body. With these feelings deeply and indelibly impressed upon our hearts, it is with the utmost distress of mind, that we are compelled, by a sense of duty, to dissent, (in some points connected with our emancipation,) from the opinions of those virtuous and enlightened statesmen who have so ably advocated the cause of catholic freedom."

"Probably from a want of sufficient information, but unquestionably from the most upright motives, they have proposed to the legislature the adoption of certain arrangements, respecting our ecclesiastical discipline, and particularly respecting the exercise of episcopal functions, to which it would be impossible for us to assent, without incurring the guilt of schism; inasmuch as they might, if carried into effect, invade the spiritual jurisdiction of our supreme pastor, and alter an important point of our discipline; for which alteration, his concurrence would, upon catholic principles, be indispensably necessary."

"When the quarter is considered, from whence the clauses have proceeded, it might, perhaps, be imagined, were we to continue silent, that they had our unqualified approbation. On this account, we deem it a duty which we owe to you, to our country, and to God, to declare in the most public manner, that they have not, and that, in their present shape, they never can have our concurrence. As, however, we have, upon all occasions, inculcated the duty of loyalty to our most gracious sovereign, (the security whereof, is the professed object of the proposed ecclesiastical arrangements,) so we would be always desirous to give you the most convincing proofs, that we are ready, in the most exemplary manner, to practise it ourselves. We have sworn to preserve inviolate the allegiance which every subject owes to his sovereign. We are not accused of having violated our oaths."

"Should any other oath, not adverse to our religious principles, be yet devised, which could remove even the unfounded apprehensions of any part of our countrymen, we would willingly take it. We owe it to our God, to be free from disloyalty; we owe it to our countrymen, to endeavour, at least, to be free from suspicion."

"Upon these grounds, reverend brothers, beloved children, we announce to you the following resolutions, which, after invoking the light and assistance of God, we have unanimously adopted, viz.:—

1st..."That, having seriously examined the copy of an amended bill, now in progress through parliament, and purporting to provide for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which his majesty's Roman catholic subjects labour, we are compelled to declare, that the ecclesiastical clauses or securities therein devised, are utterly incompatible with the discipline of our church, and with the free exercise of our religion."

2nd..."That we cannot, without the heavy guilt of schism, accede to such regulations; nor can we dissemble our consternation and dismay, at the consequences which they must, if enforced, necessarily produce."

3d..." That we would with the utmost willingness swear, (should the legislature require us to do so,) 'that we never will concur in the appointment or consecration of any bishop, whom we do not conscientiously believe to be of unimpeachable loyalty, and peaceable conduct.' And farther—'that we have not, and that we will not have any correspondence or communion with the chief pastor of our church, or with any person authorized to act in his name, for the purpose of overthrowing or disturbing the protestant government, or the protestant church of Great Britain and Ireland, or the protestant church of Scotland, as by law established."

"Reverend brethren, beloved children, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all—Amen."

"*Richard O'Reilly,*	"*John Power,*
J. T. Troy,	*William Coppinger,*
Thomas Bray,	*N. P. Archdeacon,*
Patrick G. Plunkett,	*P. Ryan,*
Daniel Murray,	*Peter M'Mullen, (by proxy.)*
F. Moylan,	*J. Young, (by proxy.)*
C. Sughrue, (by proxy.)	*Daniel Delany, (by proxy.)*
Edmond Derry,	*R. Mansfield, v. c. Ossory.*
Charles O'Donnell,	*Oliver O'Reilly, v. c. Tuam.*
Farrell O'Reilly,	*G. Plunkett, v. c. Elphin.*
James O'Shaughnessy,	*P. Daly, v. c. Ardagh.*
Peter M'Laughlin,	*D. Mannin, v. c. Galway.*
James Murphy,"	*John Flin, v. c."*

This document is sufficiently expressive, on the spiritual jurisdiction of their supreme pastor, on their discipline, and on the necessity, upon catholic principles, of their supreme pastor's concurrence with securities, not then obtainable; but which, when obtained, we shall see, by and by, how it was received. Indeed, something like guarding against any such possible event, seems to have

actuated these learned personages, when they declared, that the securities proposed in the bill introduced by their advocates, never could have their concurrence. In the second resolution, consequences of enforcing these securities are—(what shall I say)—threatened?—O impossible!—Surely not; for all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, after invoking the light and assistance of God!—no—feared. This must be the import; indicated, too, by "consternation and dismay.—But then, it must be civil consequences, which securities "must necessarily produce;" for it would be quite absurd to suppose, that the intelligent and infallible guides of a church founded on a rock, could fear for spiritual concerns!

On the 29th of May, a vote of thanks was passed, in the catholic board, to the catholic bishops, for their resolutions against the proposed bill. And when the majority of four was announced, the Irish papers in the Romish interest, expressed satisfaction, that "any bill incorporating such obnoxious clauses, was stopped, no matter by what means."

On the 29th of May, Mr. Fitzpatrick, having persisted in his refusal to give up the author of the "Statement," which contained the libel before adverted to, was sentenced to be imprisoned eighteen months, and to pay a fine of two hundred pounds.

"At a meeting of the Roman catholic board, for the county and city of Cork, held at the Bush Tavern, the 29th of May, 1813."

"GEORGE WATERS, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR."

"The following resolutions, proposed by James Roche, Esq. and seconded by Edward Morrogh, Esq. were unanimously agreed to:"—

"Resolved, that our resolutions of the 20th instant, declaratory of our satisfaction with the spirit and object of the catholic bill, as introduced by Mr. Grattan into parliament, applied exclusively, and could only be interpreted to apply, to its civil and political provisions."

"Resolved, that we presume not, nor did it become us to pronounce an opinion, on the ecclesiastical clauses appended to the bill; awaiting, as we were bound in duty and respect to do, the judgment of our prelates, who alone were competent to decide on them."

"Resolved, that the sentiments of our venerable hierarchy being now fully notified to us, we unhesitatingly acquiesce in their solemn determination, which it becomes imperative on us to support, by every constitutional means."

"GEORGE WATERS."

"WILLIAM J. SHEEHY, *SECRETARY*."

In the resolutions alluded to on the 20th, the board had declared "entire satisfaction with the spirit and object of the bill," which it termed, "the great and long wished for charter of their emancipation."

On the 1st of June, resolutions were passed at Kilkenny, thanking their prelates, and declaring, that the enactments of the proposed bill, "breathed suspicion, jealousy, and cruel and unreasonable persecution; would be death to their religion—degradation to their country—a schismatical invasion of their church discipline—would prostrate the independence of their hierarchy—and denationalize the character of the Irish priesthood." They then "suspend their confidence in James Boulger, Esq. until he shall have satisfactorily explained his vote," (differing from the fiat of the bishops,) and they return thanks to Captain Bryan, and to the Dublin Evening Post.

On the 14th of June, an aggregate meeting at Limerick resolved, "that the late decision of their venerable prelates met their warmest approbation."

On the 14th of June, at an aggregate meeting, in Cork, the resolution of the catholic board, in Dublin, of the 29th of the last month, having been read, viz.:—"That the most respectful thanks of this board, be given to the most reverend and right reverend the Roman catholic prelates in Ireland, for the communication made to us this day, and for their ever vigilant and zealous attention to the interests of the catholic church in

Ireland:" it was resolved unanimously, "that we do most warmly adopt the foregoing resolution."

On the 15th of June, an aggregate meeting of "the catholics of Ireland," was held in Dublin, and resolutions passed, from which I select a few of the most pointed.

"That the expenses unavoidably attendant upon the conduct of catholic petitions, and the defence of the invaded rights of petitioning, call for the liberal aid of our fellow countrymen; and we confide in the public spirit and zeal of the catholic body throughout Ireland, for ample pecuniary support."

"That the warm approbation and gratitude of the catholics of Ireland, be conveyed to the Right Rev. Doctor Milner, for his manly, upright, and conscientious opposition, in conformity with the most reverend and right reverend the catholic prelates of Ireland, to the ecclesiastical regulations contained in the bill lately submitted to parliament, and purporting to be a bill for the farther relief of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects."

"That we do strongly recommend it to the inhabitants of the several counties, cities, towns, and parishes of Ireland, to present separate addresses to the crown, and petitions to parliament, praying the total and unqualified repeal of all those penal statutes, which infringe the sacred right of private conscience, in religious concerns."

"That we feel it necessary to repeat our earnest exhortation to all catholic freeholders throughout Ireland, to register their freeholds, and steadily to resist the pretensions of any candidates for their votes, who shall have lent, or are likely to lend, their support to any administration founded in intolerance, and hostile to the full enjoyment of religious freedom."

"That the address to her royal highness the princess of Wales, now read, be adopted; and that the individuals composing the general board of the catholics of Ireland, be requested to procure signatures thereto."

The next proceeding was the publication of the following manifesto, by the "*August Body*," sitting in Dublin for the despatch of business.

"ADDRESS

Of the general Board of Catholics of Ireland, to the Catholic Population at large."

"BELOVED FELLOW COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW SUFFERERS!

"The general board of the catholics of Ireland, to whose care you have confided the conduct of your petitions to the legislature for relief, deem it proper, at this critical juncture, to lay before you certain considerations, seriously interesting to our common security and welfare."

"As the chosen depositaries of our claims and expectations, we have been solicitous, at all times and under every discouragement, to justify your confidence by a firm and faithful discharge of our solemn duty towards Ireland;—and, however ardently engaged in soliciting the restoration of religious freedom, we have never infringed the limits of the law, or been unmindful of what is due to the peace and good character of our country."

"We have encountered many difficulties and much obloquy—these had been foreseen—the latter we have wholly disregarded. The worst of human passions have been arrayed against us, but with little effect.—Monopoly, assuming the mask of religion, presented a host of selfish and hypocritical opponents: these have been discomfited with ridicule and reprobation. Ignorance, starting from the lethargy of ages, frowned upon the advocates of enlightened policy, and menaced the extinction of our legitimate hopes; her influence has vanished like the pestilential vapours before the advancing light of Heaven! Sectarian jealousy—national prejudices, have been stimulated against the freedom of Irish catholics; these have been permitted to wanton in shameful and savage license; but they have finally fallen beneath the pressure of justice and reason."

"The moment has arrived when the cause of catholic freedom rests almost solely upon catholic firmness, prudence, and circumspection; our enemies have failed in their attempts to obstruct our petitions, or to stifle the discussion of our just complaints—worsted in argument,

prostrate before public abhorrence, they have resorted to wicked machinations for traducing our conduct, character, and principles. Fabrications and forgeries have become the weapons of controversy. They have not been ashamed to invent and to circulate in your name, the vilest publications, calculated to delude and impose upon your protestant fellow subjects—to create jealousy and hatred, and to criminate the catholics of Ireland by imputations equally false, impudent, and atrocious. These crimes of traitorous malignity have been, strange to tell, perpetrated with impunity."

"These devices have, however, wholly failed, or enjoyed a mere temporary triumph—they have been detected and despised."

"Fellow countrymen! a new danger now impends over our abused country, and a new mode of hostility is developed; of this we are about to warn you—our enemies seek to irritate our passions, and to betray us into imprudent resentments. Restless and desperate, they have undertaken to provoke, or to seduce the catholic body to violence and insurrection. We know that local agents are busy—and venal emissaries are abroad. These miscreants will resort to your meetings, your clubs, and your public places—they will insinuate themselves into your confidence by counterfeit zeal, by daring language, by affected warmth and concern for your sufferings.—They will suggest secret oaths and engagements—propose illegal associations—circulate wild and improbable rumours of plots and conspiracies—recommend and predict rash and ruinous hostilities."

"Fellow countrymen! behold a deep laid and diabolical plot, now in actual progress, constructed not merely for defeating catholic freedom, but for involving our beloved country in massacre, desolation, and ruin. Be now, more than ever, vigilantly upon your guard. We entreat and conjure you, as you value your families, your country, and your religion, to shun the vile instruments of this nefarious policy—to beware of their fatal snares and seductions."

"How indeed, can the insidious foe hope to persuade us that the catholic cause requires any infraction of the

laws, or any disturbance of the public peace. The avenue to success is yet open; the constitution points it out; it lies through petitions to the legislature—to king, lords, and commons. Let us then petition—petition from every town, village, and parish, without exception; let every man, every woman, every child, subscribe such petitions; no name is so humble as not to be useful; this is the interest of all—this should be the business of all—persevere! and be not deterred or dissuaded—SLUMBER NOT OVER YOUR DEEP WRONGS!—let persecution be exposed to notoriety; and let your complaints resound throughout Christendom!"

"Leave the rest to events—to the legislature—and to Providence; our cause is good, and favoured from above; it is in faithful hands; let us be, therefore, confident and strenuous."

"In the mean time, fellow countrymen, let us preserve our habits of industry, domestic union, good morals, allegiance and religion. Let us instruct our children in useful knowledge; instil into their hearts a love of virtue—of freedom—of their country—and of the faith of their ancestors. Place before their eyes the dignified example of "men, who know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain!" yet steady and immoveable in the paths of righteousness, order, and good will. Thus shall you speedily disappoint the fond speculations of malignant and besotted foes.—Thus, also, shall you gladden the hearts of your faithful and enlightened friends—justify their regard, and requite their unabating labours for your happiness."

"May genuine freedom crown a virtuous perseverance with her rich rewards; and may we all enjoy in security, as we shall have earned through peril, the precious blessing of concord—internal peace and constitutional independence!"

I shall here leave to close and minute critics, to amuse themselves with analyzing, how far these "chosen depositaries," in the attempt to paint the picture of their "malignant and besotted foes," have accurately portrayed their own. I must say, however, that I agree

with "the legion of honour," that "a deep laid and diabolical plot is now in actual progress:" but I strongly suspect, that it is not against "catholic freedom," but against protestant freedom. I should be very sorry to make any assertion on light grounds; but what have facts indicated?—Who have been told "*not to slumber over their deep wrongs?*" and how have they, to whom the instruction was officially communicated, exhibited their waking "habits of industry?"—whose houses have been plundered, not of fire arms alone?—Against what class of society has plunder exhibited itself, in its insidious, masked, and thousand shapes?—O, but I crave pardon! —"Rich rewards" of "industry!"—Who have been pointed out to "ridicule and reprobation," and declared "prostrate before public abhorrence?"—Whose houses, granaries, corn, &c., have been burned?—Whose horses, cattle, &c., have been stolen, killed, or houghed?—Whose trees have been cut down, to provide materials for implements of "Attack and Defence?"—Whose distrains, from roguish tenants, for rent, have been rescued?—Who have been menaced, and who have been MURDERED? Is this, then, "the good cause, favoured from above," most illustrious knights of the "legion of honour?"—or, does "the voice of thy brother's blood cry from the ground?——"

The foregoing proclamation from the board, was soon followed by a notice from its trumpeter, in the Dublin Evening Post, viz.

"ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY."

"This glorious association, the necessary result of the times, and particularly of the Orange system, is proceeding with a pace upon which, sanguine as we were, we could not calculate. We shall take an early opportunity of submitting its constitution to the public. The Princess Charlotte! Freedom! Ireland! are its parole and countersigns.—Hatred to Orangemen, not vengeance, its principle—Loyalty its end and aim!"

Sanguine, this erudite writer may indeed well exclaim!

On the 1st of July, it was resolved, in an aggregate meeting in Dublin :—

"That it be an instruction to the catholic board, to consider of the constitutional fitness and propriety of sending an earnest and pressing memorial to the Spanish Cortes, stating to them the enslaved and depressed state of their fellow catholics in Ireland, with respect to their exclusion, on the score of their religion, from the benefits of the British constitution; and imploring their favourable intercession with their ally, our most gracious sovereign."

On the 22d of July, at the conclusion of the session of parliament, the right honourable the speaker of the house of commons, addressed his royal highness the Prince Regent, at the bar of the house of lords, on the presentation of the vote of credit bill. From his able and eloquent address, the following is an extract:

"But, sir, these are not the only subjects to which our attention has been called. Other momentous changes have been proposed for our consideration. Adhering, however, to those laws by which the throne, the parliament, and the government of this country are made fundamentally protestant, we have not consented to allow, that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction, should be authorized to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm: willing as we are, nevertheless, and willing as, I trust, we ever shall be, to allow the largest scope to religious toleration."

On the 24th of July, the general board unanimously resolved, that each member of the board sign and give in to the secretary, the following declaration :—"I declare, upon my honour, that I will not speak or vote in the catholic board, in any other dress than one of Irish manufacture."

On the 26th of July, the trial of Mr. John Magee came on in the court of king's bench, for a libel on his grace the Duke of Richmond. It would afford the reader but poor entertainment or information, to give any of the tedious particulars of this trial, or of the nonsensical, illegal, and unconstitutional speeches of some of Magee's counsel. I shall confine myself to the most prominent

passages of the libel itself. It was thus introduced, in the Dublin Evening Post:—

"THE DUKE OF RICHMOND."

Alluding to his grace's predecessors, it asserted:—"They insulted, they oppressed, they murdered, and they deceived.—The profligate, unprincipled Westmoreland—the cold hearted and cruel Camden—the artful and treacherous Cornwallis—left Ireland more depressed and divided than they found her—they augmented the powers of the government, both in the military and civil branches—they increased coercion and corruption, &c."

"Since that period, the complexion of the times has changed—the country has outgrown submission—and some forms, at least, must now be observed towards the people!"——

Of the duke of Richmond, it says:—"He came over ignorant, he soon became prejudiced, and then he became intemperate. He takes from the people their money, he eats of their bread, and drinks of their wine. In return, he gives them a bad government; and, at his departure, leaves them more distracted than ever. His grace commenced his reign by flattery—he continued it in folly—he accompanied it with violence—and he will conclude it with falsehood."

Mr. Magee was found guilty, and sentenced to two years imprisonment, and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds.

As many of my readers may not be skilled in the vocabulary of the Dublin Evening Post, I think it necessary to give a few explications of some of the terms of "science."

"Profligate, unprincipled."—A noble peer, who acted a constitutional and upright part, as viceroy; and who had the temerity to develope, that "catholic emancipation had long been the watch-word of rebellion, in Ireland."—*Vide 20th of March*, 1801, *in this Treatise*.

"Cold hearted and cruel."—Another noble peer, who, when rebellion had reared its head in the face of day, presumed to use the powers intrusted to him, to put it down.

"Artful and treacherous."—Another noble peer, who went far in measures of conciliation—extended mercy and forgiveness—but would not surrender the constitution.

"Ignorant."—Another noble peer, holding out the olive branch, on his arrival; which, if accepted, would have placed the prosperity, peace, credit, and trade of Ireland, in a far different situation from that to which the "industrious" efforts of traitors and swindlers have now reduced them.

"Prejudiced."—Determined to preserve the constitution in church and state.

"Intemperate."—Causing to be dispersed, an unlawful assembly, after long and patient endurance; when, at length, they assumed a menacing and dangerous attitude.

"A bad government."—Maintenance of the laws.

"Flattery."—A condescending and gentlemanlike manner, particularly engaging in a nobleman of exalted and princely rank.

"Folly."—An open, sincere heart; conciliation, in the admissible sense of the word, and as consistent with honour and duty.

"Violence."—A manly spirit, not to be intimidated, or priest-ridden.

"Falsehood."—Here I must confess my ignorance; I cannot discover its meaning here. Perhaps, it is only to be discovered by initiated adepts in "science."

Having here discharged a debt of justice to the illustrious noblemen, thus foully calumniated, it remains that I discharge one of charity. I should be very sorry to press on a man suffering under the infliction of the law, for this and other publications. But Mr. John Magee is not the author of this publication, no more than Mr. Hugh Fitzpatrick was the author of the "Statement," although both have necessarily and justly suffered for the publication of them. This has been their own fault, not that of the law. If a man be determined to adopt the libellous production of another; and then, contrary to all sound, honourable, sincere advice, and in defiance of reason, suffer himself to be left in the lurch by its real author, such election lies with himself; and the only reward for

his pains, is the punishment, and the contemplation of his own folly in incurring it. It is really ludicrous to dignify an unnecessary, an uncalled for self infliction, voluntary immurement and loss, with the term honour; which, in fact, is the essence of folly.

On the 4th of August, resolutions replete with falsehood, violence, and absurdity, were passed in Kilkenny, viz.:—

1st..." Resolved, that it is our firm determination, never to relax in constitutional pursuit of our claims, until, by the complete and unconditional restoration of our just rights, our character, our principles, and our faith, shall be vindicated from the foul aspersions and suspicions which the present system of exclusion cast upon them."

The second and third are not material.

4th..." That the exercise of the penal laws against us, renders us a people alien and outcast from the privileges and freedom of the English constitution. That this free constitution of England is to us more a subject of insulting and injurious mockery, than of benefit and pride.—That, relatively to us, it is a code of partial and oppressive enactments, and not a system of equal and cherishing law.—That living, therefore, under the crown, but not under the constitution, a degraded race, we feel ourselves in a more debased condition than the slaves of an absolute monarchy, where tyranny is not the portion of the few, but of all."

5th..." That it is our duty, as well as glory, to struggle against this bondage.—That we will not be willing slaves.—That we know our religion not to be the reason, but the pretext of hypocritical tyranny, for enslavement.—England may oppress, but she shall not dupe us."

6th..." That it is a wise and manly policy to proclaim our slavery to Europe, in the most distinct manner possible; and that, for this purpose, the measure of applying to the Spanish cortes, for its intercession with our sovereign, on our behalf, meets our decided approbation. If we suffer, let England, at least, be put to shame."

7th..." That we congratulate our fellow countrymen, of all ranks and classes, upon the approaching deliverance of Ireland, from the tantalizing and intolerant administration of the duke of Richmond. Ireland has never known so mischievous a system, and can never know a worse. May the merited odium which pursues him, warn his successors against trampling upon the sacred rights of petition, outraging the feelings of a good and gallant people, or ministering to the base arts of intrigue, intolerance, and injustice."

8th..." That Daniel O'Connell, Esq. is eminently entitled to our gratitude and applause, for his many and precious services rendered to the catholic cause, and to his country—his faithful performance of his duty in the catholic board—his unshaken constancy, in watching over the interests of Ireland—his early opposition to the humiliating bill, lately proposed in parliament—his intrepid developement of the crimes and treasons of Orangeism—and, finally, the dignified, eloquent, and unparalleled oration, which he pronounced on the 21st of July, in defence of the virtuous and patriotic John Magee, the proprietor of the Dublin Evening Post. We hold that oration to be of inestimable value, and singularly calculated to control the partialities of the bench, to shame and stigmatize the bigotry of a selected jury, and to rebuke into native insignificance, the vain and vulgar law officer, who shall hereafter virulently and venally invade a free press, or vilify an injured nation."

9th..." That we have viewed with inexpressible pleasure, the generous devotion of the proprietor of the Dublin Evening Post, John Magee, Esq. to the cause of Ireland, and particularly his unceasing exposure of the bigotry and intemperance of the duke of Richmond's administration."

10th..." That a subscription be now set on foot, to be applicable to such purposes as shall appear to our committee most honourable to him to receive, and most befitting our gratitude to offer."

11th..." That, in the present distressed state of our manufacturers, it is strongly recommended, that every independent Irishman shall give a decided preference to the use of our native manufacture."

12th..." That the signatures to the anti-catholic petition for this county, be procured, and published in the public prints."

13th..." That in these times of prosecutions and persecutions, when we are about, once more to seek, by petition to the legislature, the repeal of bad laws, and to procure the benefits we should have enjoyed under those laws already passed in our favour, various, but unavoidable expenses, are necessarily incurred, in furtherance of the same. That to establish a fund to defray such expenses, cannot in any other way be so effectually accomplished, as by parochial subscriptions. That we therefore most strenuously recommend the same to be speedily adopted, throughout this country. That the money so collected, with the names of the persons who subscribe, and their respective subscriptions annexed, be returned to ——, our treasurer; out of which, the local expenses incurred in this county, being first discharged, the surplus shall be immediately forwarded to the treasurer of the catholic board of Ireland."

From the 13th, to the 19th, are not material.

19th..." That in the true spirit of gratitude and patriotism, we feel ourselves bound to come forward, with the most public testimony of our attachment to the character and conduct of our chairman, George Bryan, Esquire. By the devotion of his time, his talents, and his fortune, to the promotion of our common cause, he has raised himself to an eminence amongst his countrymen, to which bad men look up with an envious hatred; but the good, with delight. While he has to reckon every slave of power among his enemies, let it be his consolation and his pride to know, that his suffering countrymen love him with swelling and breaking hearts."

On the 6th of August, resolutions were passed in Tipperary :—

1st...For unqualified repeal.
2nd..Immaterial.
3d...Thanks to the general board.
4th..." That Daniel O'Connell, Esq. is eminently endeared to his grateful country, by his many and precious services—his incessant warfare against intolerance and oppression—his indefatigable attention to his duty in the catholic board—his seasonable exposure of the defects and mischiefs of the bill lately withdrawn from the house of commons—and particularly his constitutional and masterly oration, in defence of John Magee, Esquire, the virtuous and patriotic proprietor of the Dublin Evening Post."
5th..." That the catholic freeholders are bound, by gratitude and honour, not less than by prudence and common justice, to support such candidates by their votes, as have supported them, and opposed the intolerant administration of the duke of Richmond."
6th...Contains eulogy of, and proposes subscription for, Mr. Magee.
7th..." That the signatures to the anti-catholic petition, purporting to be the petition of a few protestants of this county, be procured and published."
8th...Subscriptions throughout parishes.

Within the month of August, resolutions were also passed in Limerick, Waterford, Clare, Louth, Mayo, and Tralee. These are, for the most part, the same in substance, viz.:—Unqualified repeal—thanks to their prelates—to the general board—registry of freeholds—parish subscriptions—use of Irish manufacture exclusively—thanks to advocates, as Messrs. O'Connell, O'Gorman, Scully, Finlay, Phillips, Magee, &c. One of the resolutions in Louth, contains this blasphemous predicate:—"We should doubt the being of Providence, if we doubt of success." One of those in Waterford, threatens "non-submission to their state of degradation." The 14th of the Limerick resolutions is:—"That the gentlemen already elected in aggregate meeting, as the catholic board of the county and city of Limerick, for the purpose of arranging petitions to parliament, be continued as our

board; with power to add, according to expediency, to their number; and be requested to persevere in diligent attention to the affairs of the body." In Tralee, one of the resolutions abuses the duke of Richmond's administration.

I have to state here, that the malignant slander of the duke of Richmond, by boards and aggregates, was replied to, and its motives exposed in proper colours, in addresses to his grace, at his departure, throughout the whole kingdom, by the assizes grand juries of cities and counties, and corporations of cities and towns.

At the conclusion of the circuit, to bring up the rear, a most tumultuous aggregate meeting assembled in Cork, the 30th of August. The resolutions passed being numerous and long, I shall abridge most of them, and give a few verbatim.

They demand "unqualified repeal"—add thirty-four members to the Cork board—return thanks to the general board, and to their prelates—recommend the exclusive use of Irish manufacture—return thanks to Dr. Milner; those dissenting from whom, are termed, "false friends, or false brethren"—and also, thanks to "that invaluable Irishman, John Magee, Esq. for his undeviating support of our cause, and manly exposure of the bigotry and profligacy of our enemies, of every rank and degree."

11th..."That it is a primary and indispensable duty to obtain for ourselves that constitutional weight, which the elective franchise confers; and to acquire for our parliamentary friends, that legitimate influence which can best ensure the success of our cause, and we trust our body will carry this into effect."

15th..."That the Roman catholics of the county and city of Cork, most gratefully admire the merits, and approve the worth, of that great and good Irishman, the strong pillar of our cause, and the pride of our land, Counsellor O'Connell; who, in the true spirit of constitutional independence, has undauntedly stood foremost in the fight, whenever the interests of Ireland were to be defended, her rights demanded, or her enemies confounded; and, that we consider him parti-

cularly entitled to our most glowing gratitude, as catholic Irishmen, for his virtuous motion in support of our hierarchy, proposed in the general board, on the 29th day of May last, and triumphantly carried by a glorious and patriotic majority."

16th..." That counsellor M'Donnell, the patriotic editor of the Cork Mercantile Chronicle—the vigilant sentinel of our rights—the undaunted and incorruptible advocate of catholic claims and religious freedom, has well merited, and continues to obtain, the entire confidence, sincere gratitude, and cordial thanks of this meeting—and that he be appointed a member of our board."

Against these resolutions, a protest was published, signed by ninety of the general body of the Romanists; and out of the old board, and the new addition thereto of thirty-four members, altogether, twenty-eight members published an advertisement of their resignation.

Of the movements preparatory to, and conduct at this meeting, I shall give the subsequent account, by the "Southern Reporter" newspaper, of Cork. It charges the Roman catholic clergy with "using indecent misrepresentations, to inflame the minds of the lower orders of the people, preparatory to their sending them to the late aggregate catholic meeting." And they describe the meeting, as "one of the most tumultuous and riotous scenes ever witnessed in our city." It says, "that they, from their altars, where peace and harmony among men are usually inculcated, told the people, that the Roman catholic church was in danger, and ordered them to repair to the meeting, to defend their religion."——Again—"In addition to their exhortations, they were concerned in distributing inflammatory hand-bills, at the chapels, which the fomentors of discord had recourse to, to carry their ends."

The "Roman catholic clergymen" published an advertisement in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, of the 3d of September, to defend themselves against this charge. To term this a defence, is indeed a "most lame and impotent conclusion;" for they admit, that mention had

been made, at four public masses, of the aggregate meeting; at three in the south chapel, and at one in the north chapel.

The meeting of this tumultuous mob, was concluded late in the evening of the 30th, by chairing Mr. O'Connell through the principal parts of the city.

On the 3d of September, the newly reinforced board resolved:—To meet once in three weeks—on parish subscriptions; out of which, five hundred pounds to be transmitted to the general board—on registry of freeholds.—"That no gentleman do speak or vote in this board, unless he shall be dressed in Irish manufacture," &c.

On the 4th of September, a meeting was held, the particulars of which were thus published in the Cork newspapers:

"At a numerous and respectable meeting of Roman catholic gentlemen of the city and county of Cork, who dissented from, and protested against, the proceedings of the late Roman catholic aggregate meeting, held this day, Saturday, September the 4th, 1813, at the Bush Tavern."

"ALEXANDER O'DRISCOL, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR."

"The following resolutions were agreed to:—"

1st..."That we have seen with regret, the success of those artifices which have been employed to deceive a generous and unsuspecting people, and lead them into riot and disorder."

2nd..."That, adopting the wise principle of the constitution, by which property is made the standard of opinion, we found it impossible, at the late aggregate meeting, amidst the tumult of the lowest populace, ignorant of necessity, and misled by design, to ascertain the sense of the catholics of this city and county."

3d..."That we are too deeply interested in the success of the catholic cause, to surrender it for one instant into the hands of persons not possessing our confidence; and, that while we make every exertion for the attainment of conciliation, we will continue to prosecute our just claims with undiminished ardour, and in the same steady and constitutional course we have hitherto pursued."

4th..." That, justly anxious for the final establishment of a system of government free from restraint and distrust, on account of religious opinions, we feel assured, that our revered prelates, whose personal and and pastoral virtues entitle them to our highest confidence and respect, will be ever ready to give their cordial aid to the attainment of any measure which shall obtain our emancipation, without injury to our religion or its doctrine."

"ALEXANDER O'DRISCOL, *CHAIRMAN*."
"FREDERICK HONAN, *SECRETARY*."

The first of these resolutions exhibits laudable indications of a peaceable disposition, on the part of the gentlemen who signed this address, amounting to a good number. This, though a negative virtue, has its merit in times of "riot and disorder." But what does this resolution prove?—a minor proposition—that the account by the Southern Reporter was true; for that "riot and disorder" had prevailed. What does the fourth resolution prove?—that they are "justly anxious for the final establishment of a system of government free from restraint and distrust, on account of religious opinions." Now, what sort of "government" would this "final establishment" be, if it could be effected?—What would become of the establishment in church and state?—Of the Bill of Rights!—of the Act of Settlement!—of the succession of the crown to the heirs of the Princess Sophia, being protestants!—Ultimately, what would become of the protestant religion? Why they may sleep "in the tomb of all the Capulets!"—for what are "ulterior views," after all, but a consequence flowing from the above major proposition? As to the second resolution, it appears something unintelligible.—I know of *no* "principle of the constitution, by which property is made the standard of opinion." If, indeed, it had been called the standard of representation, though the scale does descend so low as forty shillings per annum, to qualify for voting, the proposition would have been clear enough, and even some of those, "ignorant of necessity," might comprehend

it. But this does not appear, by the context, to have been the meaning of these gentlemen. They seem to me to have imagined, that the strength of the purse contributes to the soundness of the head; but it is rather whimsical to suppose, that the constitution asserts this; for if it did, it would assert nonsense. The constitution is to be found in the laws of the land. "The constitution" and "the laws," are of synonimous import. These laws are of a compound nature: the unwritten, or common law, and the written, or statute law. By the latter of these, tumultuary petitioning had been guarded against in England, in the reign of Charles the second, by an act passed then. No such statute has been passed in Ireland. The convention act of Ireland applies to delegation, and yet even this has been questioned. The solicitor-general observed, in the trial of Doctor Sheridan in 1811, that the object of the English act in Charles the second's time, was, "to prevent tumultuary petitioning, because that was the object that was then considered dangerous." It may be reasonably asked, has not tumultuary petitioning, i. e. aggregate meetings, been as dangerous in Ireland for many of the last years? But though a particular act be not yet passed for Ireland, on this crying grievance, and deadly bane to peace and order; it would not be a safe induction that aggregate meetings are therefore legal. What says the common law?—I ask not this question of those, who, at aggregates, "find it impossible to ascertain, amidst tumult, the sense of catholics." But, be this question how it will, at law, I do say, that collecting at aggregates cannot be more criminal in the "lowest populace, ignorant of necessity," than it would be in "standard of opinion men." If legal for one, no less so is it for the other; for there is not one law for the rich, and another for the poor; and this is *one* of the "principles," of the constitution. If, indeed, the "lowest populace" should unfortunately be "misled by design" into "riot and disorder," which threaten the public peace, they make themselves more obnoxious to the consequences of the riot act; and this, I apprehend, is the only difference.

In October, resolutions were passed in Sligo, Tyrone, and Antrim, which were similar to those passed in the other towns which I have noticed in August.

In November, similar resolutions were passed in Donegal, the Queen's County, and Armagh; and resolutions peculiarly daring and blasphemous in Derry, of which I give some of the more curious, and the substance of the others.

In the first, it is stated, "that it is at length the interests of the Irish government to make peace with the Irish people!"

In the second, they resolve to petition, praying the parliament to "*obey* the dictates of interest, policy, and necessity, by quickly removing every impediment which continues to obstruct the free worship of God."

In the third, they state, that they "have been suffering from England for their attachment to HIM"—(i. e. the bishop of Rome;) "but through all our suffering and sacrifice which may yet be necessary, we shall 'never leave him nor forsake him;' but at every loss, and through every peril, shall imitate the conduct of our fathers to his predecessors, and uphold that allegiance to the Tiara, purely spiritual, which has obtained for the Irish the high title of the faithful."

4th resolution..."*That if there be a God in Heaven,* our cause cannot be indifferent to his providence! and if there be justice on earth, our slavery must be near its termination!"

5th..." That we consider it wise, as it has been usual with the catholic body, to invoke the interposition of allied powers—that Spain has before interfered* in behalf of the catholics of Ireland, and it must strike the nations of Europe as a strong argument, that whilst the two nations most catholic, have invested a protestant Irishman with ducal rank, and supreme military command, their protestant ally should refuse to the catholic the rank of a colonel, or the command of a regiment."

6th...Registry of freeholds.

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* This is true.—Vide, reign of Queen Elizabeth, Irish abstract, in this treatise.

7th..." That it is an indispensable duty in every catholic to make extraordinary exertions for the education of his children.*"

8th..." That whilst the catholics are carefully excluded from juries, in cases on which the interests of catholics are most affected, and whilst there are counties in Ireland, in which catholics never sat on a jury in a civil case, and never in a criminal case when the catholic was the sufferer; life, liberty, and property, have not security, and *trial by jury operates as a curse!*"

9th..." That the published trial of John Magee, Esq. is a book proper to be placed in the hands of our children, in order that they may early learn the wrongs of their country, and grow up with a rooted horror of oppression."

10th..." That our great advocate and fellow sufferer, Daniel O'Connell, Esq. has secured the admiration of his country, by supplying the historian with an accredited document of the true character of the Duke of Richmond's administration, and a faithful portrait of its first law adviser."

From the tenth to the thirteenth, they are not material.

13th..." That as Ireland should speak with *one voice*, it is wise that we should adopt for our county the unrivalled petition, already recommended by the catholic people."

14th..." That the catholic board possess and deserve the entire confidence of the catholics."

15th...." That the general conduct of our pastors merits our praise—that their particular promptitude and sagacity, in censuring and exposing the insidious provisions of the late catholic bill, constitute an obligation which the people of this country can never sufficiently appreciate or repay."

16th..." That we consider their ecclesiastical agent, Doctor John Milner, a judicious and energetic friend to Ireland."

17th..." That the following gentlemen possess the confidence of the catholics of this city and county."—(Ten names specified.)

* There has been a Catechism lately published in Cork, which may be of assistance, and which I shall notice by and by.

18th..." That John Finlay, Esq. be added to the list of those gentlemen who possess the confidence of the catholics of this city and county."

On the 8th of December, a resolution was unanimously passed in the "catholic board," as follows:

"Resolved—that we think it necessary, at this particular time, to re-adopt our resolution of the year 1810;—that, as Irishmen and catholics, we never can nor will consent to any interference on the part of the crown, or the servants of the crown, in the appointment of our bishops; and that with every disposition to meet, as far as it can be done, the wishes of every part of our parliamentary friends, and protestant fellow subjects, we yet feel ourselves bound to declare, that no settlement can be final or satisfactory, which has for its basis, or at all involves, any innovation or alteration, to be made by authority of parliament, in the doctrine or discipline of the catholic church in Ireland.—That this declaration is not lightly made, but is grounded upon the concurrence of this board with the prelates, and in the sentiments of the catholic body at large, as publicly and repeatedly expressed at the several meetings held, for the last three years, in every part of the kingdom."

The adoption of this resolution was preceded by a speech from Doctor Dromgoole. This speech has engaged much of the public attention; and has been copiously commented on; which renders my task brief. But the reader will necessarily look for, in this place, the most prominent passages of so marked an oration.

The learned Doctor, if truly reported by the Dublin Evening Post, observed:—"The oath for catholic members of parliament, is nearly similar to the ordinary oath of allegiance—it is drawn up in the same cautious and suspicious manner—the clauses and observations are of the same insulting and calumnious kind. But both go to a solemn pledge to support, not the succession, but the PROTESTANT succession to the crown."

Again—"It is known that every catholic acknowledges him" (the bishop of Rome,) "as supreme head of the church—that the bishops correspond with him as a father

—that they receive his pastoral instructions—that they communicate to him the success of their labours in the mission—that he is the common bond and centre of union to catholics, wherever dispersed upon the face of the earth. What then of a general nature is or can be done for the propagation of christianity, in any quarter of the globe, that is not done with the knowledge, or by the approbation, or under the direction of the see of Rome? Is not this the known doctrine of catholicity? And how gross the ignorance that would propose such an oath, unless it was meant to insult? And how absurd and presumptuous to suppose it would be accepted? Are these the securities that are sought for the protection of the protestant church? If so, she cannot obtain them. She might, according to the penalties of that bill, see, indeed, the catholic pastors driven from their flocks—she might see them subjected to obloquy, privation, and insult—she might see them transported as felons, and suffering as murderers;—but she would never see them so lost, so abandoned, as to take the oath which was proposed—an oath not to seek *directly* or *indirectly*, the subversion of the protestant church! Why this would be to abuse the Divine command, which says, "Go ye and teach all nations!" It would be to proscribe the writings and spiritual labours of a Bossuet, an Arnot, a Lingard, or a Milner; to forego the defence of the catholic faith for that vindicated—how can the *separation* from it be justified? Do not even the virtues and morality of a priesthood go indirectly to propagate the faith which they profess? Do they not operate more effectually than words? For what is more powerful than example? Was war then to be waged with the virtues? Were they too to be abjured?—No! if the church of England trembles for its safety, it must seek it elsewhere; we have no securities to give! That she stands in great need of securities who can doubt? when he sees division in the camp, and observes the determined war that is carried on against her, *muros pugnatur intra et extra*—that her articles of association are despised by those who pretend to be governed by them; that Socinians, and men of strange faith, are amongst those in command;

whilst, from without, she is incessantly assailed by a thousand bands of associated enthusiasts, furious tribes, religious warriors, who neither take nor give quarter. Why are they not put on their securities?—Why are they not bound over to keep the peace? To pass over others, observe the Methodists, a sort of Cossack infantry, religiously irregular, who, possessing themselves of the fields and hedges, and fighting from ruined houses and church yards, are carrying on a desultory, but destructive warfare against her. In the mean time, the strong and republican phalanxes of presbyterianism occupy an imposing position; and the columns of catholicity are collecting, who challenge the possession of the ark, and unfurling the *oriflamme*, display its glorious motto—Εν τουτω νικα."

"But the established church will stand—it will surmount the storms with which it is assailed, if it be built upon a ROCK; but if its foundation be on SAND, no human power can support it. In vain shall statesmen put their heads together—in vain shall parliaments, in mockery of omnipotence, declare that it is permanent and inviolate—in vain shall the lazy churchman cry from the sanctuary, to the watchman on the tower, to proclaim that danger is at hand;—it shall fall, for it is human, and liable to force, to accident, and to decay: it shall fall—and nothing but the memory of the *mischiefs* which it has created shall survive. Already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it: it has had its time upon the earth, a date nearly as long as any other NOVELTY; and when the time of its dissolution arrives, shall catholics be compelled, by the sacred bond of an oath, to uphold a system which they believe will be one day rejected by the whole earth?—Can they be induced to swear that they would oppose even the present protestants of England, if, ceasing to be truants, they thought fit to return to their ancient worship, and to have a CATHOLIC KING and a CATHOLIC PARLIAMENT!"

Again, near the conclusion:—"There are this day in the room, members of the board who have come from the remotest parts of the country. From the city of Cork, only, you have eight or ten—a city which, by its late struggle, has rendered the most important service to

Ireland, and gloriously vindicated its own character from the imputation brought upon it by assuming and incapable men. Let us shew, that the anger we expressed against our fellow subjects, who urged the legislature to the demand of securities—that the anger against the members of our own body, who only *seemed* to favour those securities, was something more than words—that our opposition to the late bill was grounded upon principle, and upon a deep sense of the mischiefs with which it was pregnant. This resolution does no more than communicate what we have often expressed, and what the country feels. It conveys the sense of the priesthood and the people. Our bishops have given it their sanction. The English bishops though slow in deciding, have stamped itwith their approbation. I hold in my hand their pastoral letter, in a style truly apostolic and christian, it conveys their determination never to be parties, or assenting to any interference of parliament in catholic ecclesiastical discipline."

Doctor Dromgoole, subsequently to the delivery of this speech, and its publication in the Dublin Evening Post, published it in a pamphlet, together with a vindication of it. In the pamphlet, the expression of the "insulting" nature of "a solemn pledge to support, not the succession, but the protestant succession to the crown," is omitted; or, according to the doctor, "erased, and another substituted in its stead." And, it is asserted, that "the printer of the Dublin Evening Post had, through mistake, inserted both." In the vindication, he says:—"If a conclusion is to be drawn from the favourable manner in which that speech was received, it met with the most complete concurrence. The speaker was frequently interrupted by applause; and the resolution was passed, with marks of enthusiastic approbation. The whole assembly, the galleries, and all the members of the board, with the exception of two or three individuals, rose up together; and, with clapping of hands, waving of hats, and long continued cheering, gave the most unequivocal proofs of their entire satisfaction."

Lord Ffrench was chairman of the meeting, which thus greeted, with acclamation, this erudite physician's pre-

scription, and which has since so completely restored sight to the blind. His lordship was reported, by the Dublin Evening Post, to have made a speech himself, previously to putting the question on the resolution, which was afterwards unanimously carried, as follows :—

" I am particularly anxious to add my name to the list of those, who think that the present question is now before a proper tribunal. It is a political question, and it belongs to you alone. Any compromise with government, is disgusting in my mind. It is right to put an eternal extinguisher on this question. Let the people speak for themselves, against any innovation in the discipline of the church, by external powers. For my part, I will say, that I will constantly raise my voice, *and almost my hand*, against it."

To these speeches, and this resolution of the 8th, it will be applicable, to preserve the chain of connexion, immediately to subjoin an extract from a speech, given by the Dublin Evening Post, as from Doctor Dromgoole, on the 24th of December :—

" My opinions, as I have given them, I would declare before the privy council, or the bench of bishops. I desire no man to adopt them ; and, in their rejection, for myself, I shall feel nothing, but I shall feel a great deal for the character of this board. Recollect, gentlemen, that those are the opinions of a catholic—that they are yours, if you be catholic—and that they are notoriously the opinions of every well informed catholic upon the face of the earth. I have ventured, in order to prevent an oath from being enacted, which could not, in its present form, be taken, to state one of the religious objections which we have to the protestant church. And because a few hired papers have made a noise in the city, and a few ragged Orangemen, in Derry or Belfast, have come together in consequence—if such be the case, are you to make a solemn disavowal of your principles? And if you do, will you be believed? Is there a protestant of any description, in any of these kingdoms, that does not know that you have objections to the religion of the state? And if you say the contrary, how can they

believe you? Are you prepared, like slaves before their offended masters, to get upon your knees, and say, that indeed you meant no offence—*that the protestant church is not in danger*—that you have no objection to the tenets it holds—that you, for your part, do not think that it is *novel*, or that it will have an end? If you do this, you will be disgraced and laughed at—your fellow catholics will be ashamed of you, and protestants will hold you in contempt."

The Doctor's reasoning here, is so full, satisfactory, and conclusive, and the *act* of the 8th of December, *nemine contradicente*, and passed with acclamation, so strong, that it would be idle to relate the subsequent farce; for of what value could disavowal of sentiments, received with "rapturous applause" on the 8th, be, at a subsequent period, when it was clearly ascertained that the predictions had failed—when the "cossack infantry," and "republican phalanxes" were found not inclined to conjunction with "the columns of catholicity?"

The Doctor, in his vindication, says:—"Let no man deceive himself. As long as the catholic is oppressed, and conceives that his political degradation is to be referred to the church of England—that it must co-exist with the duration of that church—so long, he can have no alternative—he must unavoidably, and in spite of himself, desire to see that system changed or destroyed."

Again.—"This is not the only crime of which the writer has been guilty. He has dared to say, with an appearance of satisfaction, that the church of England will fall; and that nothing but the memory of the mischiefs she has created will survive. *Well, this is his belief, and the belief of every catholic in the world.*"

Again.—"May he not, guiltlessly, although perhaps vainly hope, that, wearied out with the continual conflict of ten thousand jarring opinions—that, alarmed at the dangers with which the state and establishment are continually threatened, the people of England will, themselves, become anxious for repose—and that the learned divines of her establishment, and the statesmen to whom her prosperity is committed, availing themselves of the

dispositions of the people, may at length seek for that reconciliation, by the way of *concordat*, or otherwise, which shall open for their agitated country, a calm and secure port, where she may quietly anchor after her long tossings, and the storms with which she has been so constantly endangered? May not this flattering vision be indulged to a catholic, who, from the most benevolent intentions, might wish *a re-union established between the church of England, and the spiritual head of the rest of the christian world;* a re-union which has been recommended by some of the ablest and most christian protestant divines? She is nearer, perhaps, in alliance with catholicity, than with any other, even protestant, church. The motives that kept up the separation, are for ever removed—there is now no catholic claimant to the crown of England—the church property is irrevocably invested in the present possessors—the parts of her discipline which are most objected to by the clergymen of the church of England, might, and would be modified, as has been with that part of the Greek church, at present in communion with the see of Rome—and no obstacle be suffered to lie in the way of a cordial and lasting reconciliation. There does not, then, seem to be any thing very impossible in all this; or, at least, nothing that is very heinous and criminal, in this speculation. England was catholic once—she became protestant. She has changed again and again, through the varying doctrines of the reformers; and would it be so surprising, that, after having tried all, she became catholic again? Can he suppose, that any possible injury could be inflicted on England, by a measure that would go for ever to remove her religious distinctions, restore her to unity with herself, and unity with the rest of the christian world?—The period may not, then, be so very remote, as some people imagine, when England, being catholic herself, may have a catholic king, and a catholic parliament."

Having now concluded my extracts from all Doctor Dromgoole's publications, I shall be brief in my remarks. It is observable, that in the first speech of the 8th, it is the established church which is termed a *novelty;*

whereas, in that on the 24th, all hope of co-operation then gone, it is the protestant church generally: for, in the mean time, the "cossack infantry" were lost in amazement at the matchless assurance of the Doctor; while, as he himself informs us, some of the "strong and republican phalanxes" had "come together," and "occupied an imposing position," not to espouse, but to dispute the doctor's tenets, in Belfast and Derry.

It would not be my design, if it were not even foreign to my present subject, to advocate, in an ecclesiastical sense, the cause of dissenters from the established church, the doctrines of which are pure, because they are those of the sacred Scriptures. In this sense, I would rather, in Doctor Dromgoole's words, be inclined to ask, "how can the separation be justified?——But it is necessary, in justice, to defend them, in a civil sense, for they are decidedly loyal and firm. I shall, therefore, on the part of the methodists, as I did on the part of another respectable society already, who had been tampered with in vain, give a document, which, I apprehend, furnishes sufficient proof of the propriety of their political and civil principles.

"*Bath, August 30th*, 1797."

"At the yearly conference of the methodist preachers and delegates, from the principal societies in the kingdom, lately held at Leeds, they came to a resolution, that if any of the members of their societies, should propagate opinions inimical to the civil government, and established religion of the country, they should no longer be considered as having fellowship or connexion with them, but, that all such should be desired quietly to withdraw themselves from the societies; which, if they refused to do, and continued to act contrary to the spirit of this resolution, that then they should be forthwith expelled: it being unanimously determined, that the societies should not become a nursery of sedition, or acknowledge the disturbers of the public weal."

Here we find principles of loyalty and affection to the civil government; while, not the least indication can be discerned, of dissent even from the established religion,

but rather the contrary. Besides, the methodists profess not to dissent from the established church. For this, they are themselves the best authority: and, as proof, they communicate with the church.

As to the presbyterians, and other protestant dissenters, the journals of the Irish house of commons, bear honourable testimony to their loyalty and courage, which I have noticed in the year 1709, page 205 of this treatise. In 1798, they formed themselves into "strong and republican phalanxes;" and, every where throughout Ireland, but more particularly in the northern parts, where they "occupy an imposing position," forming the great mass of the population, afforded efficient aid to the government, in the chastisement of rebels. The learned Doctor may be assured, that there is full enough of the "republican" principle in the British constitution, as now settled, to satisfy the presbyterians; though this principle of it had suffered deterioration, which did not content them, under the tyrannical reigns of the Stuarts. The presbyterians know full well, that if the pill could be once administered, by which the mischievous *Ecclesia Anglicæ* could be lulled into a quiet exit, by a gentle *euthanasia;* or, by co-operative force, as the patient is stubborn, the brisk cathartic, intimated by the "*oriflamme,*" there would then be no necessity of making wry faces at the dose that would remain to be taken. The total extirpation of the "novelty," generally, must follow.

That statesmen will commit high treason, and divines of the establishment, apostacy, the doctor does, as he truly expresses, vainly hope: for they would commit nothing less, were the former to presume to lay the liberties of British subjects at the feet of the bishop of Rome; and were the latter to quit "that foundation, other than which no man can lay, which is Jesus Christ," for an assumed rock, a human superstructure of popes and councils, which crumbles, at the touch, into sand! But who are the "protestant divines" who have "recommended reunion?"—It was a remark of Sir Henry Parnell's, in the house of commons, "that the church

has its concealed children in the sects separate from its unity." Of this description, must these protestant divines have been.

But I must do justice to one of Doctor Dromgoole's arguments; which appears to me to be the best part of his vindication. He mentions alliance in doctrine between the churches of England and Rome: he must mean in the doctrine of the Unity in Trinity. This is the doctrine of the church of Rome, of the church of England, and of the sacred Scriptures. It is, also, one of the most important and vital doctrines. Would to God, that there could be "a cordial and lasting reconciliation," by a proper and scriptural agreement in every other!

I have now to revert to intermediate occurrences, between the speeches and vindication.

"At a meeting of the general board of the catholics of Ireland, held at the Shakspeare-gallery, Exchequer street, Dublin, on Saturday, the 11th of December, 1813."

"OWEN O'CONOR, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR."

"Resolved...That a service of plate, of the value of one thousand guineas, be presented to Daniel O'Connell, Esq. on the part of the catholic people of Ireland, as a small tribute of their gratitude for the unshaken intrepidity, matchless ability, and unwearied perseverance, with which, in despite of power and intolerance, he has uniformly asserted the rights, and vindicated the calumniated character of his catholic countrymen."

"Resolved...that the following noblemen and gentlemen do compose a committee, for the purpose of carrying the above resolution into effect."

"*The Viscount Netterville,*
The Lord Efrench,
Purcell O'Gorman, Esq.
Owen O'Conor, Esq."

"*George Bryan, Esq.*
Henry Edmond Taaffe, Esq.
Nicholas Mahon, Esq.
Randal M'Donnell, Esq."

"OWEN O'CONOR, *CHAIRMAN.*"
"EDWARD HAY, *SECRETARY.*"

"CORK CATHOLIC BOARD."

"21st of December, 1813."

"JAMES B. FOLEY, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR."

"The following resolution, adopted by the general board of the catholics of Ireland, on Wednesday the 8th of December, having been read:"—

(Here is inserted Doctor Dromgoole's resolution.)

"Resolved unanimously, that we most warmly approve of the above resolution, as directly expressive of the sentiments and principles of this board."

"Resolved unanimously, and with acclamation, that fully participating in the sentiments of gratitude and admiration expressed on a late occasion, by the general board of the catholics of Ireland, to Daniel O'Connell, Esq. and regarding him as the man, who has been the undaunted supporter of his country's rights, and the intrepid guardian of that country's dearest and most sacred interests, in the preservation, unaltered and unchanged, of the hallowed religion of its brave and calumniated people; we again assure him of our warm and continued confidence, gratitude, and support: and will chearfully and with heartfelt pleasure, contribute towards forming the tribute of national gratitude, voted to one of their ablest members, by the illustrious body possessed of the confidence of the people of Ireland."

"Resolved unanimously, that the individuals composing this board, do forward fifty pounds, as their contribution to the fund, for providing a tribute of Irish gratitude to Daniel O'Connell, Esq. and that we earnestly recommend to the catholics of this county and city, to co-operate promptly and efficaciously in this national purpose; and that the members of this board will receive and transmit the contributions of their countrymen, to the committee appointed by the general board to receive them."

"JAMES B. FOLEY, *CHAIRMAN.*"

"TIMOTHY MAHONY, *SECRETARY.*"

On the 8th of January, 1814, in the "catholic board," Mr. O'Connell was reported by the newspapers to have

said, that "he thought it was the duty of catholics to shew their gratitude to those of the freemen who were disposed to assist them in attaining the object in view, and to give such friends a decided preference in business.—This might be called bigotry; he could not think so: it was but discharging a debt of gratitude, and refusing to an enemy the means of carrying his injurious intentions into effect: and, whatever might be the opinions of others on this matter, he was free to confess, that he did, from his soul, hate the man, who, from any motive, wished to keep him and other catholics, in their present state of inferiority." I have thought it necessary to insert this extract, as illustrative of a principle which has been reduced to practical operation. Of this, various instances could be adduced, prior and subsequent to the delivery of this speech; but, as brevity must be consulted here, I shall rest the proof on the case of Mr. Pike, of Cork, of which the reader is already in possession, substantiated by an authentic document.

The following document requires literal insertion:—

"ADDRESS

"Of the general catholic board to the people—adopted Saturday, February the 5th, 1814."

"FELLOW COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW SUFFERERS!"

"The general board of the catholics of Ireland, to whom you have confided your petitions to the legislature, once more address you.—They claim the continuance of your confidence only, because they feel that they deserve it, by the zeal and purity of their intentions and exertions in the cause of your religion and your country.—Fellow countrymen! the object of your petitions is sanctioned by justice—it is enforced by wisdom—it must be attained, unless the artifices of your enemies shall triumph over justice and wisdom; we say their artifices, because their arguments have failed, and their calumnies are forgotten or despised."

"Amongst their artifices, we dread but one—it is that which has been already practised with success on former occasions; it is one to which you are exposed by your

situation, your sufferings, and your feelings; your enemies wish to betray you into illegal associations and combinations; they wish to bring upon you punishment, aggravated by its being merited, and they still desire to ruin your cause, and that of Ireland."

"The emissaries of your enemies, become more cautious by detection, are likely to assume deeper disguise.—It is our duty to expose to you the evils which must ensue to yours and to the catholic cause, if you enter into any illegal or secret combination, or association."

"Repeated acts of parliament have pronounced associations, for almost any imaginable purpose, to be illegal. A recent statute, called 50th of the king, chap. 102, beside more associations, which are plainly criminal, as for seditious purposes, or to disturb the public peace, has declared every association, committee, society, or brotherhood whatsoever, to be unlawful, if formed to injure any person, or the property of any person, or to compel any person to do, or omit, or refuse to do any act whatsoever."

"That statute has also declared any oath or engagement to be illegal, which imports to bind any person to obey the rules, or orders, or commands of any committee or body of men not lawfully and legally constituted—or of any captain, leader, or commander not appointed by the king—or binding any persons to assemble at the command of any such captain, leader, commander, or committee, or of any person not having lawful authority—or bindiug any person not to inform or give evidence, or not to reveal or discover having taken any illegal oath, or having done any illegal act, or to conceal any illegal oath thereafter to be taken."

"For inducing or procuring, by any means, the taking of any such oath or engagement, the punishment is transportation for life; he who takes any such oath is liable to transportation for seven years; and it will not be received as an excuse, that the party has been compelled by force or menace to take such oaths, unless he makes full discovery to a magistrate, within seven days."

"By another act of parliament, called the 15th and 16th of the king, chap. 21, it is made a high misde-

meanor, punishable by pillory or whipping, to wear any particular badge or dress, or to assume any particular name or denomination of a party."

"Recollect, too, we entreat of you, that not only is it unlawful and punishable to assume the name, or wear the colours or badge of any such association, or to take, or induce any person to enter into any engagement or oath to belong thereto, but that almost every act, in pursuance of such oath or engagement, is made, by various statutes, felony of death. Even to assault a dwelling-house (strangely as the phrase may sound,) is a capital felony in Ireland. And to raise the arm, without even a blow or further violence, is an assault in law. So that he, who, in pursuance of plans of any such association, raises his unarmed hand against a dwelling house, may for that offence be capitally convicted, and suffer death."

"We select this instance, to shew you the extent to which capital punishments are applicable, by law, to the consequences of illegal associations."

"Transportation for seven years is the doom of him who enters into any illegal association. Transportation for life, is visited upon him who induces another to enter into an illegal association; and finally, death is the punishment of him who does any one act, in pursuance of the design of an illegal association."

"Such, fellow countrymen! are the punishments which the law denounces against illegal associations; whether they be called White-boys or Right-boys, Threshers or Carders, Ribbonmen or Orangemen, they are all liable to punishment, and all deserve condemnation."

"It is quite true, that some delinquents may escape, but do not flatter yourselves that you can be of that fortunate number: if you transgress the law, you will meet, as you will deserve, all the zeal and activity of prosecution."

"Reflect upon these serious subjects for your consideration. If you offend against the laws, what favour can you expect—what favour have you grounds for expecting?"

"Reflect also upon the inutility of those associations.—What utility, what advantage, has ever been derived

from them? None whatsoever. No redress has ever been obtained by their means. They have been quite useless—nay, worse; for they have always produced crimes; robbery, outrage, and murder; and they have uniformly been followed by numerous executions, in which the innocent have been often taken for, and confounded with the guilty. Do you require any other arguments to induce you to refrain from those associations?—Perhaps you are careless of your own lives—you cannot be insensible to the blood of the innocent."

"There is, however, another inducement to refrain—your enemies, the men who would deny you the poor privilege of worshipping your God, as your forefathers have worshipped—these men, all these men, anxiously desire, that you should form criminal combinations and confederations—they want but a pretext for framing laws still stronger and more sanguinary;—they want but a pretext to lay the heavy hand of power upon your country and your religion. Your enemies seek to seduce or to drive you into illegal associations. Your friends, the catholic board, ardently desire to prevent your forming any association. They conjure you, if you confide in them, to hearken to advice, which can be dictated only by their affectionate attachment to you. They conjure you to respect the laws—to live in peace—to offer injury or outrage to no man—to seek legal redress alone for every injury inflicted on you.—*The redress is, and shall be within your reach!*—They beseech you to look for relief from your grievances, only through the lawful channel of petitioning parliament. And they confidently promise you, that the wisdom of parliament will speedily extend that relief, if you continue, by peaceable and dutiful conduct, to deserve it—to gratify your friends, and disappoint your enemies."

"So will you afford us the happiness of seeing your religion resound from the calumnies and inflictions of centuries of persecution, and your countrymen, of all classes and persuasions, reconciled, coherent, and finally free."

"GEORGE BRYAN, *CHAIRMAN*."

On the 10th of February, Mr. John Magee, who had been convicted for having published the Kilkenny resolutions in the Dublin Evening Post, was sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned six months, to commence from the expiration of his former sentence.

On the 22nd of February, an aggregate meeting for the county of Dublin, passed resolutions, which, in substance, are:—Simple repeal—thanks to the board, and to their pastors.

On the 2nd of March, a religious declaration was proposed to the board by one of its members, which was agreed to, and referred to the consideration of Dr. Troy. The following is an extract from a letter to Mr. Hay, which the newspapers attributed to Doctor Troy, in answer:—"A single perusal has been sufficient. My sense of them has been long formed on such grounds, as will not require, nor indeed allow me to submit them anew to inquiry. I find they are an exact transcript of a well known formulary of the condemnation of doctrines imputed to catholics, emanating from some members of the committee of English catholics, twenty-four years ago. On its publication, their formulary created much mischievous division among the English catholics; and shortly after, when embodied by its framers into an oath, which it was intended to have inserted in an act of parliament, it was condemned by the catholic bishops of Great Britain, and by such of the Irish prelates as were consulted on it, (of which I happened to be one,) and by them declared to be such as no catholic could, with a safe conscience, take or subscribe to. This sentence was confirmed by the supreme pastor."

On the 24th of March, an aggregate meeting in Kilkenny, passed resolutions, of which the third was:—"That we re-adopt our resolutions of the years 1808 and 1810, against any right or interference to be vested in the crown, in the appointment of our clergy, as these resolutions have been set forth in a speech delivered at the catholic board, by Doctor Dromgoole, the substance of which we approve and adopt."

The fourth was:—"That our thanks are eminently due, and are hereby given, to the virtuous minority on Counsellor M'Donnell's motion, for rescinding the vote of censure passed by the catholic board, on Doctor Dromgoole's speech."

The only thing material in the others, was—Thanks to Mr. Magee, and measures for full indemnification of his losses.

By the report, in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, of this meeting, the Reverend Patrick Kelly was chairman; and the Reverend P. O'Conry said:—"Every doctrinal point in his (Doctor Dromgoole's) speech, as Roman catholics, we must believe to be true." The Reverend N. Carroll, also, spoke in favour of the fourth resolution.

At the spring assizes, the grand juries of the counties and cities throughout Ireland, forwarded addresses to the lord lieutenant, praying the suppression of the "catholic board."

On the 7th of April, the Cork board resolved:—"That as Irishmen, and as catholics, deeply anxious for the prosperity of our great cause, we deem it right, at this important crisis, when assailed by the hostility of organized intolerance, and threatened with the privation of our humble, but constitutional right of petition, to renew the expression of our most anxious desire for the restoration of unanimity in our body, upon principles of mutual oblivion, and mutual conciliation."

On the 22nd of April, it was attempted, in the house of commons, to call in question the propriety of the speaker's address, at the close of the session, to his royal highness the Prince Regent. This attempt met with signal defeat; having been supported by only one hundred and six members, and opposed by two hundred and seventy-four.

In May, a rescript arrived in Ireland, from the *propaganda*, at Rome, signed J. B. Quarantotti; being an answer to letters to Rome, from Doctor Poynter, of London, and Doctor Troy, of Dublin, concerning the provisions of the bill rejected in the last session. It directs, that they shall "with willingness and gratitude,

receive and embrace the law which was proposed for their emancipation last year;" and concludes with "the hope, that they shall promptly and unreservedly conform to the things which, in virtue of the power assigned," have been decreed.

This rescript, whether "mandatory," or not, at least conveyed prudent advice; among which, is ingeniously interwoven, however, a sentence, which requires to be pointed out to the attention of the reader:—"It is sufficiently evident, that by the divine law, the chief duty of a minister of the church, is to attend every where to the propagation of the catholic faith, which can alone lead to eternal happiness, and to contribute to the removal of error."

This, the religious part of the advice, I shall leave to the penetration of my readers, and the zeal of the Romish hierarchy, and proceed to relate how the political counsel, certainly far from unwholesome, except to hot-brained priests, was accepted.

"Resolutions of the parish priests and clergymen of the arch-diocese of Dublin.—Bridge-street chapel, May the 12th."

"We, the undersigned, parish priests and clergymen of the arch-diocese of Dublin, feel it as a duty which we owe to God and to our flocks, to make the following public declaration:"—

"Resolved, that we consider the document, or rescript, signed Quarantotti, as not obligatory upon the catholic church in Ireland, particularly as it wants these authoritative marks, whereby the mandates of the holy see are known and recognised, and especially the signature of the pope."

"That we consider the granting to an *a-catholic* government, any power, either direct or indirect, with regard to the appointment and nomination of the catholic bishops of Ireland, at all times inexpedient."

"That circumstanced as we are in this country, we consider the granting of such a power, not only inexpedient, but highly detrimental to the best and dearest interests of religion, and pregnant with incalculable mischief to the cause of catholicity in Ireland."

"That such arrangements of domestic nomination can be made among the clergy of Ireland, with the consent of the holy see, as will preclude that foreign influence, against which those securities, so destructive to religion, are called for."

"We therefore most humbly and respectfully do hereby supplicate our venerable archbishop, and we hope that the catholic clergy and laity of all Ireland, will join us in praying, that he and the other Irish prelates will, without delay, remonstrate against this document, and represent to his holiness, and the sacred college of cardinals, now happily re-instated at Rome, the peculiar situation of the catholic church in Ireland, and the tremendous evils which we apprehend would inevitably flow from the adoption of the principles laid down in said document."

A similar meeting was convened in Cork, on the 20th of May, by the "vicar-general," which passed the following resolution:—"That we have, for a length of time, felt indignant at the imputations cast upon the loyalty of the clerical body, by the repeated expression of the necessity of guarding against the danger of their injuring the state."

The remaining resolutions were something similar in substance to those in Dublin.

In Cloyne, the same day, a similar meeting declared themselves "inviolably attached to the centre of catholic unity, the chair of St. Peter; but the integrity of the Roman catholic religion in Ireland being paramount, in their minds, and the restraints in the lately proposed bill, being subversive of this vital integrity; that, therefore, the injunctions of the rescript are an unwarrantable assumption of authority, and incompetent to bind them." They state the rejected bill, as abhorred by the great bulk of their community, with "a ferment of detestation" and "convulsive alarm."* Canonical election, by the chapter or clergy of the diocese, in conjunction with the bishop of Rome, is the substance of their last resolution.

* Query.—Who raised it?—"The great bulk of their community" are very inadequate judges of the utility or inutility of either existing or proposed statutes.

In Ossory, the same day, a similar meeting declared against the veto, and in favour of domestic nomination. "We disclaim," said they, "the spiritual power of any form of civil government; in our character of British subjects, we disclaim as loudly the temporal power of the pope—we protest against the rescript, as we do against the veto; we reject the uncanonical interference of the king, as Roman catholics; we reject the unconstitutional interference of the pope, as citizens. No government can justly invade the rights of conscience; no spiritual authority, home or foreign, is competent to dispose of our civil rights."

This mode of reasoning, on a superficial view, would appear specious; but no hypothesis is tenable on false premises; for neither has the "civil government" exercised "spiritual power," nor "the pope, unconstitutional interference." On the contrary, when "spiritual power" roused the nerves of "the columns of catholicity," into "convulsive alarm!" and illustrated the honest and manly avowal of the Irish priest, alluded to by the earl of Liverpool, "that there is a great deal of flesh and blood in this spiritual power," by exciting, in this susceptible composition, which we are assured, on very high authority, "lusteth against the spirit"—"a ferment of detestation!"—and, when all this went on, without the smallest opposition from the "civil government," it is begging the question, to charge it, by inuendo, with the assumption of "spiritual power." When, also, they had received sound advice from Rome, pursuant to their own desire, expressed by Doctor Poynter, and Doctor Troy, is it not rather whimsical to charge on "the pope unconstitutional interference? The truth is, neither this, nor the subsequent reply from Rome, with the "authoritative marks," has pleased them. If the reply had been the direct contrary, we should have heard nothing about "unconstitutional interference;" the "authoritative marks" would have been "known;" the "mandate recognised;" and "our holy church" would have been the watch-word, to sound "convulsive alarm" through the land. But when, on the authority of "the centre of

catholic unity, the chair of St. Peter," the spiritual argument fell to the ground, "civil rights" formed necessarily the sole argument. With these, in a general sense, the "cause of catholicity" cannot boast of congeniality. In a particular sense, as to themselves, they fully possess them. This, it is true, they themselves deny; for they call power a right, unrestricted by any of the conditions by which other subjects, all members of the parliament, or government, and even the crown itself, are bound, which is absurd.

As I have given sufficient of the clerical proceedings, except I were to tire the reader with repetition, I shall summarily state, that in Navan, Dromore, Limerick, and other places, resolutions of similar import were passed.

On the 17th of May, Sir J. Hippesley, on moving for certain papers, tending to elucidate particular points of discipline in the Romish church, said:—"It had come to his knowledge, that nearly thirty thousand pounds had been remitted from Rome, to Ireland, for the purpose of purchasing lands. Of that money, sixteen thousand pounds had been laid out, in buying a place called Castle Browne; and, on the site of Castle Browne, a building had been erected, as a seminary, which was under the superintendance of a professed Jesuit. A gentleman of the name of Browne, well known in the literary world, had written very largely, within a short period, in defence of the Jesuits. He eulogised that body very highly—he spoke of their having establishments in Russia and Naples—and stated, that young men were sent from this country, to the society at Naples, for their education—that they were there ordained—and afterwards returned to the United Kingdom. On the subject of an oath, Mr. Browne observed, that he differed from the common construction of that obligation. He held it to be '*secundum intentionem deponentis*,' and not '*secundum intentionem juramenti*.' This gentleman argued very strenuously, that the order of Jesuits ought, if possible, to be established in every part of Europe. On the subject of the introduction of the order into Ireland, he had lately received a letter, fully confirming the fact,

from which he would read an extract:—'It is,' said the writer, 'a plain fact, that the society of Jesuits have purchased Castle Browne, and are about to establish themselves among us. What their object is, I know no more than you do, for they are not remarkable for disclosing their designs. There is, however, quite enough to alarm the British world.'"

The motion was agreed to.

On the 19th of May, an aggregate meeting in Dublin, passed the following resolutions:

"That we have seen, without surprise, or even indignation, but with great contempt, resolutions and addresses, published as from certain individuals of the grand juries of some counties in Ireland, containing false and base calumnies respecting the intentions, principles, and conduct, of the general board of the catholics of Ireland. In these calumnies, we easily recognise that spirit of bigotry and oppression, which, in violation of the faith of treaties, and in opposition to the plain dictates of justice, originally deprived the catholic people of Ireland of their rights; and which spirit, now that more direct persecution is discontinued, exhibits itself in the propagation of false imputations."

"That we deem it a duty to ourselves, and to our country, solemnly and distinctly to declare, that any decree, mandate, rescript, or decision whatsoever, of any foreign power or authority, religious or civil, ought not, and cannot of right, assume any dominion or control over the political concerns of the catholics of Ireland.'

"That the venerable and venerated the catholic priests of the arch-diocese of Dublin, have deserved our most marked and cordial gratitude, as well for the uniform tenor of their sanctified lives, as in particular, for the holy zeal and alacrity with which, at the present period of general alarm and consternation, they have consoled the people of Ireland by the public declaration of their sentiments, respecting the mischievous document signed B. Quarantotti, and disposed them to await with confidence the decision of our revered prelates, at the approaching synod."

"That we do most earnestly and respectfully beseech our revered prelates, to take into consideration at the approaching synod, the propriety of for ever precluding any public danger, either of ministerial or foreign influence, in the appointment of our prelates."

"That the enthusiastic gratitude of the Irish people is due to that youthful model of splendid genius, and unrivalled talent, Charles Phillips, Esq. barrister at law."

"That the cordial gratitude of the catholics of Ireland is due to George Lidwell, Esq. and the other enlightened patriots who attended our meeting."

"That the resolutions of this day, be published in the usual newspapers, as also in the Ulster Recorder, and Impartial Observer."

We shall see just now, whether the government of the country regarded the grand jury addresses with the "contempt" expressed by the "august body." It would be quite superfluous, except for the information of English readers, to observe, that the "certain individuals," so slyly insinuated, were the grand juries of the counties and cities throughout Ireland, with the exception of a very few "certain individuals," either Romanists, or, which is much the same thing, advocates of "the cause of catholicity." As to the point at issue between the grand juries and the board, the "false and base calumnies" by the former, of the latter, the reader will, I apprehend, conclude, that he has sufficient of the acts of the board before him, to enable him to determine; but, in a document of the 11th of June, he shall "have grounds more relative." As to "violation of the faith of treaties," I refer the reader to the late earl of Clare's statement, in 1793, in the Irish parliament, of the treaty of Limerick; and also to the treaty itself, for proof of the truth of this able lawyer's statement of its articles. The phrase, "political concerns," substituted for "our holy religion," claims the reader's particular attention.

The next occurrence I have to relate, is the meeting of the synod alluded to in the above resolutions. It met on the 27th of May, and passed the following resolutions:

"That a congratulatory letter be addressed to his holiness, Pius the seventh, on his happy liberation from captivity."

"That we have taken into our mature consideration, the late rescript of the vice-prefect of the propaganda; we are fully convinced it is not mandatory."

"That we do now open a communion with the holy see, on the subject of this document; and that for this purpose, two prelates be forthwith deputed, to convey our unanimous and well known sentiments to the chief pastor; from whose wisdom, zeal, and tried magnanimity, we have every reason to expect such a decision, as will give general satisfaction."

"That the two last resolutions be respectfully communicated to the Right Honourable the Earl of Donoughmore and to the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, with an earnest entreaty, that when the question of catholic emancipation shall be discussed in parliament, they will exert their powerful talents, in excluding from the bill, intended for our relief, those clauses which we have already deprecated as severely penal to us, and entirely injurious to our religion."

As, on former occasions, "he who runs may read" coincidence between the "bishops" and the "board," so, on the present, the conjunction may be as quickly discerned between the "board" and the "bishops!"—For, though religion is in the end lugged in, contrary to the infallible decision of the Roman see, contrary to reason, to the scriptures, and even to the impeccable and "august body" itself; who, by a fresh shuffling of the cards, have turned up "political concerns," as trumps; still, we may clearly perceive, that the "bishops" have not left out of their estimate, "political concerns, a bill intended for their relief, excluding deprecated clauses." Now, the context shews this "relief" to be "political;" and I defy even the college of Jesuits, except by their own species of logic, to draw any other conclusion; which the proceedings of this, and former synods, would not instantly rebut. These, and the general procedure of the "hierarchy" in Ireland, are not proofs of the

want of "relief" in religious liberty, but of the converse of that proposition.

On the 1st of June, an aggregate meeting was held in the South chapel, Cork, and resolutions were passed; one of them "noticing, with contempt, the peevish, petulant, and illiberal attempts of a few members of grand juries;" the others are an echo of those by the Dublin board, with the addition of thanks to their prelates, for their resolutions of 29th ultimo, and thirty-seven members appointed, "possessing their confidence."

While all these monstrous proceedings had been going on, the rebels, under a new designation, "Ribbonmen," had not been idle in the "cause of catholicity;" but, as the relation of their exploits would be entirely too copious for my limits, my readers must be contented with the accounts of them which they have had in the newspapers.

On the 4th of June, the lord lieutenant and council issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

"WHITWORTH."

"Whereas an assembly, under the denomination of the catholic board, has, for a considerable time, existed in this part of the United Kingdom, under pretence of preparing petitions to parliament, on behalf of the Roman catholics of Ireland."

"And whereas, under the provisions of an act made in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-third year of his present majesty, intituled, 'An act to prevent unlawful assemblies, under the pretence of preparing public petitions, or other addresses, to his majesty or the parliament, the said assembly is an unlawful assembly."

"And whereas great artifice has been employed, in order to persuade the public generally, and his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in Ireland, in particular, that such an assembly is lawful and necessary to the exercise of the right of petitioning."

"And whereas the law hath not hitherto been enforced against the said assembly, in the expectation that those

who had been misled by such artifice, would become sensible of the error, and in the hope that the said assembly would be discontinued, without the necessity of legal interposition."

"Now, we, the lord lieutenant, by and with the advice and consent of his majesty's privy council, being satisfied that the permanence, or the farther continuance of the said assembly, can only tend to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons, and to the violation of the public peace, do hereby strictly caution and forewarn all such his majesty's subjects as are members of the said assembly, that they do henceforward abstain from any farther attendance at or in the said assembly; and do hereby give notice, that if, in defiance of this our proclamation, the said assembly shall again meet, after the date hereof, the said assembly, and all persons acting as members of the same, shall be proceeded against according to law."

"*3d of June*, 1814."

I have extracted the following particulars from the Cork Mercantile Chronicle of the 8th, which it reports as having occurred in Dublin on the 4th, the very day the proclamation was issued.

"At three o'clock, a few members assembled; about four o'clock, the petition was handed to Daniel O'Connell, Esquire, who read it to the members present, (sixteen.) A conversation took place, which tended to say, that if twenty-one members were present, the chair should be taken; however, twenty-one members did not attend, and at half-past five o'clock, the persons present retired."

On the 11th of June, an aggregate meeting in Dublin passed the following resolutions:—

1st..."That Mr. Hay be requested to continue to act as secretary to the catholics of Ireland."

2nd..."That the catholic board appointed for the purpose of preparing our petitions to parliament, and in the formation of which, the principle of representation was studiously guarded against, and has been repeatedly disclaimed, was instituted with the direct intention to

avoid giving just offence, or to fall within the prohibition of penalties of any known law of the land, even in the most rigorous interpretation of such law."

3d..." That the catholic board was not elected, or in any manner constituted or appointed to represent the people of this realm, or any number or description of the people; neither did it, nor does it, assume or exercise any right or authority of representing the people, or any description of the people."

4th..." That we, therefore, utterly deny that the catholic board is an unlawful assembly, either within the provisions of the convention act, or otherwise, and especially as the Convention Act contains a saving provision in the words following:—'Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed in any manner to prevent or impede the undoubted right of his majesty's subjects of this realm to petition his majesty, or both houses, or either house of parliament, for redress of any public or private grievance.'

5th..." That in the acts of the catholic board, we recognise unwearied diligence, distinguished talent, and inviolable fidelity in the performance of its arduous duties. The catholic people have found in it, a legitimate organ of their opinions and feelings. Their rights have been advocated, and their wrongs proclaimed with truth and earnestness. The results have proved eminently beneficial; for while the friends of religious freedom have augmented in numbers, and triumphed in argument, the votaries of intolerance have been humbled, abashed, and nearly silenced. General calumnies against our moral principles have been exploded, and our opponents are now compelled to resort to the despicable substitute of personal defamation. Much has been done by the catholic board, towards cheering and cementing the catholic people—guiding them by constitutional principles—protecting them, in many instances, from local oppression—checking ministerial delinquency in others—warning them seasonably against the snares of insidious foes—and, with a presiding spirit of benevolent patriotism, the wants of the native artisan and neglected

manufacturer have been affectionately consulted, and their interests cherished with parental solicitude. The very existence of such a board has frustrated the intrigues, and crushed the profane speculations of such as would traffic upon a venal misrepresentation of catholic sentiments. Its candour and publicity have baffled all unworthy attempts upon our honour and interests—ample freedom of discussion has proved our most effectual ally;—eliciting the talents—upholding the virtues, and advancing the fame of our country.—Finally, the great cause of our rightful petitions has been judiciously placed upon the firm basis of universal good—*the religious freedom of all mankind.*"

6th..." That for these, and many other valuable services, rendered to Ireland, and to religious freedom, we sincerely thank the members of the catholic board, and recommend them to the respect and gratitude of their country."

7th..." That his excellency the lord-lieutenant, having thought proper to forbid the meetings of said board, at the moment when the discussion of our claims in parliament is immediately to be expected, and when, of course, important and most necessary communications with our noble and honourable advocates in both houses may, from day to day, be indispensably called for; such a prohibition is, by its nature and unavoidable consequences, (whatever be the motives which dictated it,) calculated to obstruct and embarrass, in various ways, the success of our humble application to the legislature, and to surround it with difficulties, not warranted by any circumstance that we can discover, and altogether adverse to the spirit of the British constitution—difficulties which seem too likely to render the right and act of petitioning, for a session, inefficient, and of consequence, and in effect, nugatory, and of no value."

8th..." That we are solemnly and deeply impressed with the conviction, that measures should be forthwith taken, for causing our several petitions to be proceeded on, so as to ensure that inquiry and effectual discussion

in the present sessions, which the honour and interests of the catholic body imperatively require."

9th..." That solemnly protesting against the unrelenting system of intolerance, which the catholics of Ireland appear to be doomed in this enlightened age to endure, we are yet stedfastly determined to persevere in claiming our emancipation; and by our constancy in this just pursuit, and by availing ourselves of all warrantable means for this purpose, to prove ourselves worthy of those equal rights and liberties which we demand, and can never consent to forego!"

10th..." That a subscription be immediately opened for defraying the expenses attending our petitions, and that Daniel O'Connell, Esq. be requested to collect the same."

11th..." That the most cordial and grateful thanks of the catholics of Ireland are pre-eminently due and hereby given, to that incorruptible patriot, the Right Honourable John Philpot Curran, who has this day honoured our meeting by his presence, and with whose uniform exertions in the cause of religious freedom, we have ever seen connected the fairest and proudest recollection of catholics and Irishmen."

12th..." That this meeting do adjourn to the 24th of June instant, then to take into consideration the form of a petition to parliament, praying that the catholics of Ireland may, during any further continuance of the penal and disabling laws, obtain the benefit of that principle of the constitution, which gives aliens a jury of one-half foreigners."

In my relation of the "board's" proceedings of the 19th of May, I intimated to the reader conclusive demonstration to be given on the 11th of June, touching the charges, by the grand juries, of usurped functions, on the part of this "august body." The fifth of the present resolutions, proves, that these were not "false and base calumnies," with mathematical precision."

Soon after, an aggregate meeting in Cork, resolved on —unqualified repeal—exertions for the return of Mr. Hutchinson—and thanks to sundry persons.

On the 23d of June, in a debate on the bill for the better execution of the laws in Ireland, Mr. Peel read an oath, by which those combining, bound themselves 'to suffer death rather than give any information against their companions, before judge or jury; to join the French upon their landing in Ireland; &c.' "At the last assizes of Roscommon," he said, "nine persons were tried and convicted, for having taken and administered oaths, binding them not to inform against Threshers, and not to deal with protestants, and to conform to the rules and regulations of the commanders, under whose directions they acted."——"James Connell had given informations against some persons for administering unlawful oaths: it was found necessary, after he had given information, to keep him in gaol for his personal security, until he was brought up to Dublin to give evidence. He afterwards saw this man, and cautioned him against going back to his own country: he was, however, so desirous of returning, that no advice could restrain him, and he went home. When his return was known, from three adjoining parishes delegates were actually appointed to murder him. It was proved, upon the evidence of one of the delegates, that in each of the three parishes, six delegates were chosen to commit the murder; that these delegates met at the appointed time, and selected nine of their number to perpetrate the act. They attacked the house of the poor man, and murdered both him and his wife. After the overthrow of Buonaparte, the 5th of the present month, seven persons had been taken up, engaged in a political conspiracy. In the Queen's County also, serious disturbances prevailed."

On the 8th of July, in a debate on the Irish preservation of the peace bill, termed the Insurrection Act, Mr. Peel stated:—"that in many parts of Ireland, the inhabitants were obliged to sit up whole nights, to guard themselves from assassination; that the Caravats were levying contributions of thirty and forty shillings each, from the little farmers every night, and seizing arms and ammunition wherever they could be found; that the Carders were in constant activity throughout the county of

Westmeath, and that a band of them had broken into the house of a poor man, and carded both himself, his wife, and two daughters, in the most dreadful manner. The operation was performed with a wool card, with which the flesh was literally torn from the bones of the unfortunate creatures who happened to be exposed to the torture. He had in his hand, he said, a memorial dated November the 29th, 1813, signed by thirty-six magistrates of the county of Westmeath, stating, that the most daring outrages were committed in open day, and that assassinations were perpetrated at the places of worship, and in the face of a large congregation, without the slightest resistance. A series of resolutions, passed at the last assizes, confirmed the contents of the memorial. A variety of letters also stated the excesses every where committed, and the necessity of protecting the inhabitants."

On the 13th of July, on the same bill, Mr. Peel stated, "the necessity, in some of the disturbed districts, to dispense with juries, in order to secure the due administration of justice; because the cruel alternative in which a juryman, in such a case, might be placed, was this—he must either acquit the guilty to secure his own safety, or he must risk his life by performing his duty. But the bill did not necessarily take away the trial by jury; it only gave the court a power to dispense with it in cases in which such appeared absolutely necessary."

On the 14th of July, on the same bill, in committee, Mr. Peel vindicated the Orange societies from the unjust aspersions cast on them. He stated that they had existed more than twenty years; that they had been grossly calumniated by the disaffected, who had dared to represent their views to be nothing less than to destroy the catholics, burn the chapels, and exterminate their religion. But so far from these societies being liable to the imputations cast on them, it was but justice to declare, that their only fault was an exuberance of loyalty. Their oath only bound them to support, by lawful means, the protestant ascendancy, and the government of his majesty King George the third, and never to join with United Irishmen."

On the 20th of July, on the third reading of the same bill, Mr. Peel stated:—"that six convictions took place at Westmeath for oaths to be true to Buonaparte; that he had hoped, that peace would have overpowered all such absurd speculations, as adherence to the despot of another country; but he had recently learned that similar combinations were still forming in Ireland, and that an oath was now administered and taken in the county of Westmeath, hostile to the public peace and tranquillity."

Mr. Butterworth stated:—"that he had received a letter from a correspondent in the county of Longford, which mentioned, that a jury, consisting of ten catholics, and two protestants, had been chosen to try some persons of the catholic persuasion. Though the case was perfectly clear, and the judge had so stated it to the jury, the ten catholics would not agree to a verdict of guilty; and as the two protestants would not consent to a verdict of acquittal, in a case that was, to them, perfectly clear, the jury was obliged to be discharged."

On the same bill, in the lords, July the 27th, Lord Viscount Sidmouth said:—"The oath lately taken, differed from that before the restoration of peace. The former enjoined secrecy, truth to the 'committee,' a solemn bond to pursue informers to death, either by hanging, drowning, or 'laying under ground,' dead or alive; and finally, to assist the French on their landing. The latter retained the original clauses of secrecy, bound to demolish government, to 'root up pride and tyranny,' to abolish tithes and taxes, and plant the tree of liberty."

From a brief, by the bishop of Rome, for the restoration of the Jesuits, I have extracted the following passages.

"The catholic world demands with unanimous voice the re-establishment of the company of Jesus. We daily receive to this effect, the most pressing petitions from our venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and the most distinguished persons."

"We ordain, that the present letters be inviolably observed according to their form and tenor, in all time coming; that they enjoy their full and entire effect; that they shall never be submitted to the judgment or revision

of any judge, with whatever power he may be clothed; declaring null and of no effect, any encroachment on the present regulations, either knowingly or from ignorance, &c."

"It is also our will, that the same credit be paid to copies, whether in manuscript or printed, of our present brief, as to the original itself, provided they have the signature of some notary public, and the seal of some ecclesiastical dignitary; that no one be permitted to infringe, or by an audacious temerity to oppose any part of this ordinance; and that should any one take upon him to attempt it, let him know that he will thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul."

I dare say the "authoritative marks" of this document have been "recognised!"

Soon after, the bishop of Rome issued a decretal, for suppressing Freemasons, denouncing penalties "corporal and severe."

On the 13th of September, an aggregate meeting in Kerry resolved on "total and unqualified emancipation."

On the 27th of September, the Dublin Evening Post prescribed, as a first and leading principle, "to put Orangemen out of the market:"——"to deal with no man who would not formally renounce the association, and inscribe his name among the friends of civil and religious liberty."

On the 18th of November, the Cork Mercantile Chronicle newspaper reported as follows:

"A circular letter, of which the following is a copy, has been sent by Counsellor O'Connell to the principal gentlemen of the catholic body:—"

"*Merrion-square, Nov.* 16, 1814."

"DEAR SIR,"

"I have been requested by several catholic gentlemen to inform you, that it is intended to have a meeting held at No. 4, Capel-street, at two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday the 26th inst. The gentlemen who propose meeting on that day, have many of them differed as to the manner of conducting our petitions, but they mutually acknowledge and respect the purity

of intention of those who entertained different opinions, and they all agree in the propriety, nay, the necessity of combining the efforts of all the petitioners in the furtherance of our great object:—perfect freedom of conscience."

"It is intended to meet on that day, merely as individuals, and for the sole purpose of collecting individual opinions, so as to shape all further proceedings in the mode most likely to deserve and ensure unanimity."

"I am directed respectfully to request your attendance and assistance." "I have the honour to be, sir,

Your very obedient, humble servant,"

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

On the 25th of November, a meeting of catholic gentlemen in Cork, resolved, "That the catholic body should be solicited to form a fund, to defray the expenses of the petition."

In the beginning of December, William Baker, Esq. of Lismacue, Caher, a magistrate, stated the following murders and outrages, committed in the county of Tipperary and barony of Middlethird, in justification of "the district of Ardmayle particularly requiring the immediate interposition of some new authority to restore and preserve its peace."

May 20...Mr. Robins murdered.
June 22...Mr. Smithwick fired at.
—— 24...Mr. Givens and Son fired at, and desperately wounded.
July 4...Mr. Long murdered.
August 1...Meany murdered.
——— 19...Gleeson murdered.
——— 27...Fawcett murdered.

On the 24th of January 1815, an aggregate meeting in Dublin passed resolutions. From the 1st to the 5th of these, the only thing material is "unqualified repeal."

5th..."That it is manifestly impossible to petition parliament with effect, unless some limited number of persons shall either be appointed or voluntarily associate them-

selves together for the purposes of preparing the form and procuring signatures to such petitions, and of transmitting, when signed, to our advocates in parliament, and of giving the necessary information of the nature and extent of our grievances, the mode in which the several penal laws operate, directly and indirectly, to our exclusion, and the most practical and effectual provisions for our relief, and of transacting the other business naturally and necessarily connected with the success of our petition to parliament.

7th..." That as we are from experience fully aware that every means which the ingenuity of very zealous bigotry can suggest, will be resorted to, in order to impede and hinder us from claiming success in our constitutional cause, of seeking redress by petitioning parliament, we do not, therefore, and for other reasons sufficiently obvious, deem it expedient to nominate any committee or number of persons for that purpose; but we do most earnestly recommend to such of the noblemen and gentlemen, members of the board of the catholics of Ireland, as shall be inclined to exert themselves for the attainment of the above object, to form themselves into a voluntary association, as individuals, for the old, single, and exclusive purpose of managing and conducting our petitions to the legislature, and the business necessarily and indispensably connected therewith."

The remaining resolutions contain little, except adjournment to 13th of February, and a subscription determined on.

On the 1st of February, the following advertisement appeared in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle.

"CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION."

"Those gentlemen who were appointed members of the Roman catholic board of this county and city, at the different aggregate meetings, and are desirous of now becoming members of the voluntary association of Roman catholics of Ireland, formed for the purpose of forward-

ing our petition to parliament, at the present most important crisis of our affairs, are requested immediately to send in their names to me, at my house, George's quay, in this city, that I may transmit them to Mr. Hay, the secretary in Dublin."

CORK, FEB. 1, 1815. "JAMES N. MAHON, *SECRETARY*."

I have transcribed the following from the Cork Mercantile Chronicle of 6th of February:

"CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION."

Dublin, February 4th, 1815.

"This day the sessions opened, in the apartments lately occupied by the board in Capel-street. Several new members were enrolled. The chair was taken by Owen O'Conor, esq.—The aggregate fixed for the 16th."

I think it necessary to state here, intelligence which the press communicated at this period, that "his holiness" had commenced the year 1815 by a remonstrance, complaining, among other matters, of the emperor of Austria having permitted a Lutheran church to be opened at Venice.

On the 16th of February, the adjourned aggregate meeting in Dublin resolved:—

3d..."That the association do report to an aggregate meeting on Thursday the 23d instant."

5th..."That the catholic people of Ireland are justly tenacious of the long tried purity and spotless integrity of their venerated clergy."

The other resolutions state, that any arrangement in the mode of nominating their clergy, cannot be contemplated by the catholics, without alarm and abhorrence; and stimulate "the catholics to redeem the pledge of one thousand guineas to Daniel O'Connell, Esq. for the intrepidity, &c. with which, in despite of power and intolerance, he has uniformly asserted the rights, and vindicated the calumniated character of his catholic countrymen."

On the 13th of March, the Cork Mercantile Chronicle published the dedication to a sermon, which, on the 24th of February, was preached by Mr. Ryan, a Dominican friar, in Townsend-street chapel, Dublin, on the consecration of Doctor Plunkett, and Doctor Waldron. This dedication, I think it necessary to give, verbatim.

"DEDICATION"

"*To Doctors O'Reilly, Troy, Kelly, Murray, Plunkett, Murphy, Ryan, Plunkett, Waldron.*"

"MY LORDS,

"In obedience to your wish, this discourse, which was delivered in your presence, is now published. In your character of bishops, you are the only persons to whom, as to judges, a minister of religion may render an account of his faith, without degrading his sacred office. Of the doctrines inculcated in the following discourse, you have unanimously approved. Under such circumstances, I can claim little merit for resignation, amidst the frantic vituperations of the catholic church, and even the unfounded reproaches of some weak and false brethren."

"He who is bound to shed his blood in the maintenance of those truths, may well submit to contumely in their defence."

"I remain your lordships' devoted humble servant,"

"DUBLIN, MARCH 3, 1815." "JOHN RYAN."

On the 15th of March, the same newspaper published the entire sermon, from which I give some extracts.

Alluding to Buonaparte—"He consigns the sovereign pontiff of the christian world to a dungeon. Unable to extort from his victim any concessions prejudicial to the cause of religion, he assembles the prelates of a nation, then lying in trembling subjection to his power; he attempts to raise up a schism in the church; to seduce those successors of the apostles from their acknowledgment of that supremacy which is in the chair of Peter."

"Defeated in this impious attempt, he determines that his vengeance shall be felt throughout the universal church. His venerable captive is hurried from prison to prison; he is deprived of all communication with the faithful; the vicar of Christ is debarred access even to the most humble of his temples, where he might seek consolation at the altar of Him, in whose cause he is suffering; the sympathy of his spiritual children fails to find its way to him; no accents reach his ear, during a period of six years, except the blasphemies of a rude, and obscene, and impious soldiery. Churches, widowed of their pastors, seek in vain the means of approaching this great source of spiritual authority. The enemies of our faith hailed the expected fall of the see of Peter, and the extinction of episcopacy. Even their detestation of a man, who threatened to overwhelm their national grandeur and independence,* was tempered by the pious assurance of his success, in the ruin of that church which was the object of their hatred."——

——"Yes, my brethren, you have beheld this wonderful deliverance of the church; you now behold nations which had panted for her fall, indebted for their preservation, to those events by which Divine Providence relieved her from persecution."

"The vicar of Jesus Christ has come forth from his captivity. To this event we owe the present solemnity. One of the first acts of his spiritual authority testifies his solicitude for this portion of the church, perhaps specially endeared by its sufferings, to him who has experienced in his own person, the bitterness of protracted martyrdom."——

——"In this sacred character," eternal high priest, "Christ offered the great sacrifice of his blood. He imparts this dignity to his apostles, sending them, as his heavenly father had sent him, to continue the same sacrifice in the mysteries of our altar; to forgive the sins of repentant man—to govern his church—to teach all

* Query.—Whose national grandeur and independence? As to episcopacy, the church of England holds this; but Mr. Ryan is well aware, that it is not that of the Romish "successors."

nations—to establish the succession of the priesthood to the consummation of all time."——

"The apostles soon found it necessary to impart this sacred commission to others. Accordingly, we find Mathias, Paul, Barnabas, and others, raised to the episcopal dignity, and Stephen, with his companions, to the order of deacon."——

"The fathers of the church not only speak of the priestly character thus communicated, but likewise of its indelible nature. St. Gregory, of Nyssa:—'It is this same efficacy of the divine word, which renders the priest august and venerable, and separated from the community by a change wrought through blessedness. For he who was of yesterday, and all former days of his life, of the multitude, and one of the people, becomes suddenly a teacher and ruler, having within him a soul exalted in dignity, changed from what it had been by divine grace and power.'

"The christian ministry, thus essentially distinct from the faithful in general, consists of several orders: the first of which is the order of bishops, who are the successors of the apostles; and who, having at their head the successor of Peter, the prince of the apostles, do constitute that living tribunal, to which Christ has promised the superintendance of the spirit of truth. To them does it belong, to bear a perpetual and unerring testimony as to that faith which cannot change. To them, as the sources of all spiritual power, does it belong to confer orders—to appoint the ministers of religion to the care of souls—to legislate for the church in its discipline, which may be changed—and, on this point, as well as on points of faith, they are exclusively competent to judge and to decide."——

"The fortieth of the apostolic canons speaks:—'Whoever is bishop, is your prince and leader—your king and ruler: he holds in your regard the place of God here on earth. Let your bishop preside over you, as one whom God himself has deigned to make a partaker in his dignity.'

"The christian church was to consist of an immense number of congregations, each of which would require

the superintendance of ministers of religion, for the administration of the sacraments essential to salvation, and for other duties of the sacred office. If, in this countless host of christian ministers, each were entitled to the right of judging and deciding on faith and discipline, by what means could that unity in faith be ascertained, and that uniformity in discipline be preserved, so essential to a church, the pillar and ground of truth, instituted for the purpose of extending itself throughout every region? By what means could such a body be governed? Miracles, repeated from hour to hour, would be necessary to save from inextricable confusion, a mass so heterogeneous. But the wisdom of God does not adopt, as its means, continued miracles; it does not prescribe to itself plans which are the sources of confusion, and then proceed to remedy that confusion by miraculous interference. And therefore it is, that we find that infallibility of judgment in matters of faith and morals, which was promised by our Redeemer, placed in that portion of the hierarchy, which must be comparatively limited in its number.—We find the right of spiritual government and legislation, the sources of spiritual power and jurisdiction, exclusively confined to the bishops of the church; and as they cannot lay claim to individual infallibility, even as judges in faith and morals, this prerogative being promised to them in their collective capacity only; and that, consequently, some of them might, through error or malice, become dangerous or traitorous guides: the same eternal wisdom has guarded us from being thus led astray, by the establishment of that centre of unity, the see of Peter. The most humble among the faithful ascertains whether his pastor be of that church founded by Christ, and guided by the Holy Ghost, when he ascertains the simple fact of that pastor being in communion with the chair of Peter."——

——"He" (Christ,) "had foretold that heresies should exist; he had foreseen those countless sects which were to rise from age to age, tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine.—Yet, under these circumstances, we will find him insisting on one faith, as necessary to salvation, placing those who should refuse to hear his church, on a

level with the idolatrous heathen, and the remorseless extortioner. Is it not evident, that in thus binding man to one church, he bound himself to afford to man the means of distinguishing that church, of ascertaining that faith so essential to his everlasting repose? And was this to be effected, by leaving his written word as a subject of controversy amongst men, without any tribunal to decide between them, except the private judgment of each individual?"

It speaks of the "success" of "the catholic church," "in bearing to the most distant climes, the light of faith; whilst the efforts of sectarians, even when directed to this end, are found fruitless. Fallen from that body in which alone that germ of fruitfulness and life is to be found, the curse of sterility is upon them. They can only impede the dissemination of faith in that soil on which they lie prostrate, and on which they must decay."——

"However powerful the enemies of the catholic church were at that day," (the fourth century,) "for, my brethren, it is not in modern times only, that our faith has found its most bitter enemies in possession of great power, yet the doctrines of Arius could find no protection. The apostolic ages were not yet sufficiently remote, to enable him to raise up any doubts touching the divine institution and pre-eminence of the episcopacy. He did not find it easy to cast his leaven of disaffection and anarchy among the second order of the clergy in his country; he might have found many a titled protector to administer to his ease, whilst he should employ himself in avenging on the church his merited rejection from its highest dignity, if his errors had not been too obvious to detection, in an age when it was yet too early for tradition to be subjected to cavils. The common belief of christians was so opposed to this error, that ecclesiastical history affords no instance of its revival, until ten centuries after Arius, when it was again introduced by Wickliffe.* Even then, it scarcely

* This upright and able man did, indeed, oppose the usurpations and tyranny of bishops, in matters not belonging to them; as well as those of the Roman see, so prevalent in his time, and related in the English abstract of this Treatise. Query—Is this disputing episcopacy?

raised its feeble head. It was not, however, extinguished; it was preserved in a neighbouring country, until, amidst the other phænomena accompanying an attempt at reforming an infallible church, it was called into open light by Calvin. The history of the world, from that period, exhibits its progress in maturity. We ourselves are witnesses to the most impious and monstrous effects resulting from it. We have seen the ministry of heaven assumed by the very outcasts of the earth; the written word of God tortured into the support of blasphemy against itself; and when it might have seemed that human fatuity must have been exhausted of its extravagancies, we have beheld a climax to these horrors, in a nation calling itself the most enlightened in the world. We have seen no small portion of its inhabitants hanging from the lips of a wretched and superannuated maniac,* proclaiming herself pregnant of a second Messiah, who was approaching for the purpose of completing that redemption which Christ had left imperfect. †

"My lords, when we behold such consequences flowing from the principle to which I have been adverting, it is not easy to divest ourselves of apprehension, at finding any symptoms of a tendency to that error amongst catholics."——"You have seen meetings consisting of mere laymen, assuming an authority which the church cannot claim; an authority to repeal an article of catholic faith. Such an article has been formally disclaimed; and a spirit at once dastardly and presumptuous, has sent forth to the world, as the result of repeated deliberations, the disavowal of that tenet of our religion, which teaches us that there is only one faith by which man is to seek salvation. The catholic voice of Ireland has already rebuked this act; but the perturbed spirit to which it owed its existence, remains. Driven from it first lodgement, it returns with seven-fold activity and strength.

* Curious association in a sermon;—the virtuous and learned John Wickliffe, and Joanna Southcott. It is a pity Martin Luther was omitted in the group.

† While the frantic absurdities of an unfortunate old female idiot, is quite undeserving of notice, it may be reasonably asked, why assume "to continue the same sacrifice" which was once offered, finished, and not left imperfect?

With the most whining professions of attachment to the catholic doctrine and the prelacy, it actually proceeds usurping the exclusive rights of the episcopacy; for, my lords, it has already become a matter of serious discussion, whether a solemn decision of the head of the church, on a question of spiritual concernment, though it should issue from that authority, and be received by our bishops, shall not be resisted by our laymen."

On the 22nd of March, in Limerick, and on the 25th, in Kerry, aggregate meetings resolved on "unqualified emancipation."

On the 7th of April, an aggregate meeting in Cork passed resolutions, which are merely a repetition of the substance of former resolutions. Similar resolutions were also passed in Galway, on the 7th of May.

On the 30th of May, the question was brought on in the house of commons, by Sir Henry Parnell. It would be quite unnecessary to extract copiously from this debate. It was truly observed, that the question had undergone ample discussion before. Mr. Yorke observed:—"It was argued in favour of such concessions, that it was by our catholic ancestors our constitution had been formed. But it was with our pagan and Saxon ancestors that it had originated." Serjeant Best said:—"The catholics themselves had circulated all over the country a bill, the contents of which were like saying—'Give us all, or we will take nothing.'" The motion for a committee was rejected by a majority of eighty-one: there having been for it, one hundred and forty-seven; and against it, two hundred and twenty-eight. In the house of lords, it was rejected by a majority of twenty-six: contents, sixty; non-contents, eighty-six.

In the months of July and August, aggregate meetings in Dublin, Clare, Limerick, Waterford, Kerry, Tipperary, Cork, Kilkenny, and Queen's County, passed resolutions, which require not insertion here, as they are similar, in substance, to those before given.

On the 21st of August, the following resolutions were passed by the "Catholic Association," in Dublin:

"That a committee of five be appointed to wait upon the most reverend and right reverend the catholic prelates of Ireland, and to lay before them, in the most respectful manner, the several resolutions entered into by the catholic body, expressive of their hostility to any interference on the part of the crown, or the servants of the crown, in the nomination or appointment of the catholic bishops of Ireland."

"That an aggregate meeting of the catholics of Ireland be held in Dublin, on Tuesday the 29th instant, to take into consideration the measures most useful, under the pressure of circumstances, towards obtaining unqualified emancipation."

"That this association do adjourn until to-morrow, at nine o'clock precisely, and that all the members in town be summoned to attend."

On the 22nd, the adjourned meeting passed resolutions, appointing five members, to inquire from their prelates, the particulars of the communication from Rome; also, whether there be a catholic church recognised at Rome as existing in Ireland; or if Ireland be considered in any, and in what respect, a missionary country. One of the resolutions was, to meet every day throughout the week.

The answers to the inquiries from the deputation were: "The catholic hierarchy in Ireland certainly existed unbroken, and in full possession of its ecclesiastical and spiritual rights, powers and authority; and those rights were recognised and admitted at Rome. But Ireland was in some respect a missionary country also, not as qualifying or diminishing the rights of her bishops, but, on the contrary, of giving them additional powers—that is, Ireland had several privileges of a mission; for instance, the privilege of ordaining secular priests,—'*titulo missionis*,' without requiring any qualification of patrimony or property. In short, the hierarchy was complete and recognised, though, by reason of the *persecution* it had sustained, it was also privileged in many respects, as if it were a mere mission."

The next proceeding was as follows:—

"At a meeting of the Roman catholic prelates of Ireland, held in Dublin, on the 23d and 24th of August, 1815, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to."

"THE MOST REV. DOCTOR O'KELLY, PRESIDENT."

"That it is our decided and conscientious conviction, that any power granted to the crown of Great Britain, of interfering, directly or indirectly, in the appointment of bishops for the Roman catholic church in Ireland, must essentially injure, and may eventually subvert, the Roman catholic religion in this country."

"That with this conviction, deeply and unalterably impressed on our minds, we should consider ourselves as betraying the dearest interests of that portion of the church which the Holy Ghost has confided to our care; did we not declare most unequivocally, that we will, at all times, and under all circumstances, deprecate and oppose, in every canonical and constitutional way, any such interference."

"That though we sincerely venerate the sovereign pontiff, as visible head of the church, we do not conceive that our apprehensions for the safety of the Roman catholic church in Ireland, can, or ought to be removed, by any determination of his holiness,* adopted, or intended to be adopted, not only without our concurrence, but in direct opposition to our repeated resolutions, and the very energetic memorial presented on our behalf, and so ably supported by our deputy, the most Rev. Doctor Murray, who, in that quality, was more competent to inform his holiness of the real state of the Roman catholic church in Ireland, than any other with whom he is said to have consulted."

"That declaration of these our sentiments, respectful, firm, and decided, be transmitted to the holy see, which we trust, will engage his holiness to feel and acknowledge the justness and propriety of this our determination."

"That our most grateful thanks are due, and are hereby given, to the most Rev. Doctor Murray, and the

* The reader will bear in recollection, that in their pastoral address, in 1813, they stated their "supreme pastor's concurrence, upon catholic principles, to be indispensably necessary."

Right Rev. Dr. Milner, our late deputies to Rome, for their zealous and able discharge of the trust reposed in them."

"OLIVER KELLY, *PRESIDENT.*"

" Richard O'Rielly,	*" P. Ryan, Ferns.*
J. T. Troy,	*Charles Tuohy, Limerick.*
P. Everard, Coadjr. Cashel.	*G. Plunkett, Elphin.*
D. Murray, Coadjr. Dublin.	*John Murphy, Cork.*
P. J. Plunkett, Meath.	*P. M'Mullen, Down & Connor.*
W. Copinger, Cloyne & Ross.	*Kyran Marum, Ossory.*
T. Costello, Clonfert.	*Peter M'Loughlin, Raphoe.*
C. Sughrue, Kerry.	*James Murphy, Clogher.*
John Power, Waterford.	*Edmond Derry, Dromore.*
Charles O'Donnell, Derry.	*Michael Corcoran, (Elect,)*
John O'Flynn Achonry.	*Kildare & Leighlin.*
Peter Waldron, Killala.	*J. Magauran, (elect) Ardagh.*
Jas. O'Shaughnessy, Killaloe.	*Edmond Ffrench, Warden*
Farrell O'Rielly, Kilmore."	*of Galway."*

This document was succeeded on the 29th, by the following:—

"At a meeting of the conference of the city district of the diocese of Cork, held at the vestry room of the North parish chapel, 29th of August, 1815."

"Resolved, that we receive with respect and gratitude the resolutions of our venerated prelates, condemning every species of government interference in the nomination of catholic bishops for Ireland; by which they have evinced their pastoral solicitude for the welfare of their flocks, their zeal for the maintenance of our faith, and have calmed the fears of the inhabitants of this land, whose apprehensions had been excited by the mischievous intrigues of the enemies of our religion and our country."

"That we recognise, in our bishops, the worthy successors of those prelates, who, in the midst of bitter

persecution, have proved the purity of their principles by their constancy; and who have, through many struggles, transmitted to us the sacred deposit of the faith, decorated with their apostolic virtues; and who, unawed by power, and unseduced by blandishment, have preserved the rights of our national church, with the integrity of our hierarchy, and thus enables us to exhibit, at this day, to the world, the singular and glorious spectacle of an uninterrupted line of bishops, preserved under unparalleled calamities, throughout a series of nearly fourteen hundred years."

"That should circumstances demand from us the sacrifice even of our lives, we pledge ourselves to our prelates, that we will adhere to them with fidelity, under persecution, as our predecessors have adhered to theirs, and that whilst they are engaged in the defence of our canonical and constitutional rights, whether they be assailed from abroad or at home, they shall always find us zealously co-operating with them, in that spirit of obedience which emanates alike from duty and respect."

"That these resolutions be published in the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, and in the Dublin Chronicle."

Signed by 37 Priests.

Various other meetings of priests, in Dublin, and other places, passed resolutions, in substance similar to these.

On the 29th of August, the aggregate meeting, fixed by the "Association," assembled in Dublin. Of the resolutions passed, there is but one which I think necessary to insert, as the rest are repetition of the substance of former resolutions.

7th...."That a deputation, consisting of Sir Thomas Esmond, Baronet, and Owen O'Conor, Esq. with the Rev. Mr. Hayes, as their secretary, be requested to present to his holiness the pope, a remonstrance, on the part of the catholic laity, stating our entire concurrence with our venerable and revered prelates, in perpetual and unremitting opposition to any measure which would, directly or indirectly, authorize the crown, or the ser-

vants of the crown, to interfere with the appointment of our bishops—and praying his holiness, not to countenance, directly or indirectly, the plans of the bitter and unrelenting enemies of our religion."

The succeeding resolution appoints the individuals composing the catholic association to prepare such remonstrance.

This remonstrance was subsequently published, entitled, "Address and remonstrance of the Roman catholics of Ireland, to his holiness Pope Pius the seventh, resolved upon at their aggregate meeting, held in the city of Dublin, August 29, 1815.—Sir Thomas Esmond, baronet, in the chair."

It is signed, { THOMAS ESMOND, *CHAIRMAN.* / EDWARD HAY, *SECRETARY.*

And underneath these signatures, is—

"I certify that the above address and remonstrance was framed by the association of the Roman catholics of Ireland, pursuant to the directions of the aggregate meeting, held on Tuesday the 29th day of August last."

"NICHOLAS MAHON, *CHAIRMAN OF THE ASSOCIATION.*"

"*Dublin, Sept.* 16, 1815."

From this remonstrance, I select the following passages:

"We deem it unnecessary, most holy father, to remind the sovereign pontiff of our church, of our peculiar claims to his protection and support; for we cannot, for a moment, imagine, that your holiness is unmindful of the constancy and devotion manifested towards the holy see, by the Roman catholics of Ireland, in despite of the most sanguinary and unrelenting persecution that ever aggrieved a christian people."

"We cannot, however, abstain from reminding our most holy father, that although the persecution which we and our ancestors endured, was notoriously and avowedly inflicted upon us, on account of our adherence to, and connexion with the holy see; nevertheless, the Roman catholics of Ireland never solicited the predecessors of your holiness, at any period of that persecution, to alter in the

slightest degree, that connexion, or make any modification of the existing discipline of our holy church, to obtain for the Roman catholics of Ireland, the repeal or mitigation of those laws which proscribed them."

They have heard, they say, that he has favoured a measure, "which would enable a protestant government to control the appointment of their prelates; against which the catholic voice of Ireland has protested, and ever will protest with one accord."

They say,—"Although the penal laws have been considerably relaxed, nevertheless the hostility to our holy religion continues to exist in full force: and every artifice is practised, and every inducement held out, to seduce the Irish catholic from the practice and profession of his religion. Rewards are given to every catholic clergyman who apostatizes from his faith. Public schools and hospitals are maintained at great expense, in which hostility to the creed and character of Roman catholics, constitutes the first principle of instruction. Commissioners are appointed, to prevent catholic institutions receiving any benefit from the donations of pious persons. Societies are established, under the favour of our rulers, for proselyting the catholic poor; at the same time that every effort of bribery and corruption is exerted, to influence Roman catholic schoolmasters to seduce the Roman catholic children intrusted to their care, from an attachment to their creed. Every member of the legislature, every minister of the government, every judge of the land, every superior naval, military, or civil officer, and almost every individual in official station, is obliged to swear, and has actually sworn in the following words:" [here follows the declaration against transubstantiation.]

"It is to persons who have taken these offensive oaths of hostility to our holy religion, that we are now required, most holy father, to confide the selection and appointment of the prelates of our church; and thus the efforts of persecution having been found unsuccessful, it is now sought to accomplish, by intrigue, the destruction of that church whose pre-eminent perfection has excited the jealousy and the hatred of our religious opponents."

They state, that the first consequence of this measure would be, "a general indignant revolt against the framers or favourers of the detested system, without regard to rank or station."

They state, that "they look up to their prelates and priests, not merely as spiritual guides, but also, as confidential friends and faithful advisers. The trials of persecution created a system of mutual affection and support, which enabled them to bear up against the severity of sanguinary laws.—These mutual services are not forgotten—the sentiments which they generated remain unchanged—and, therefore, we never can consent, that our pure and pious hierarchy should be contaminated by such a connexion as must endanger their just influence, and render them objects of dislike and distrust among their faithful flocks."

On the 4th of September, an aggregate meeting in Cork echoed concurrence in the deputation to Rome.

The following document is so applicable to the general nature of my subject, that I think it necessary to insert it.

"At a special general meeting of the committee of the Protestant Society for the protection of religious liberty, held in London, 21st of November, to consider the situation of the persecuted protestants in France; the following resolutions were passed:"

1st..."That this committee, which includes several members of the national church, and who represent many hundred congregations of protestant dissenters and of friends to religious liberty of all denominations, throughout England and Wales, have been taught by their forefathers, and ever will continue to regard the rights of every man, in every age, and every country, to worship God according to his conscience, as an inviolable, sacred, and unalienable right, which no individual, or government, or legislature, can, without injustice and oppression, directly or indirectly infringe."

2nd..."That although this committee be principally appointed to protect the religious freedom of their fellow

countrymen in their native land;—yet, they should be undeserving of the name of Britons, of protestants, of christians, and even of men, if their philanthropy was not as extensive as the world—if they did not sympathize with all who suffer for conscience sake—if they did not regard persecution by any sect, with alarm and abhorrence—and if they did not endeavour to effect its extinction, by the exertion of every energy which they possess."

3d..."That at this period, when instruction is so extensively diffused—when liberal principles are so generally professed—when the most solemn treaties and the most powerful monarchs have recognised the rights of conscience—and when nations of every christian denomination have united in resistance to oppression, and for the restoration of permanent peace and prosperity to Europe and to the world—this committee did hope that perfect religious liberty would have been regarded as an hallowed plant—and that all nations would have participated in the beneficial fruits which that liberty must produce."

4th.."That even if this committee could have apprehended that persecution would have revived, they could not have expected that revival, and especially the revival of a persecution of protestants, under princes, whose obvious interests demand conciliation—whose predecessors had devastated their own countries by former persecutions—some of whose charters had declared, 'that all religions should be protected by the law, and that all men, of all religious professions, should be eligible to the offices of state'—and whose restoration and continued authority have been chiefly effected and upheld by protestant liberality, protestant perseverance, protestant valour, and protestant support!"

5th..." That the committee have therefore learned, with astonishment and deep regret, that at Nismes, and other places in the south of France, a systematic persecution of protestants has existed, since the restoration of the present monarch to the throne of that country: that their property has been seized or des-

troyed—that many persons, interesting for their youth and sex, or respectable for their industry, their loyalty, their virtue, and their piety, have been assassinated—that an aged, venerable, and excellent minister of religion has been put to death—and all the enormities which superstition, interest, and cruelty, have effected in former ages, have there been re-performed: and that they have learned, with augmented sorrow, that these barbarities yet continue to be perpetrated, as they have not been suppressed with that promptitude and firmness, which wisdom, gratitude, benevolence, and christianity, indispensably require."

6th..." That against deeds, so full of horror, this committee must publicly protest; and they assure the unhappy surviving sufferers, by such conduct, that they commiserate their destiny; and that, if such assistance should be unfortunately necessary, they will endeavour, in this country, to provide for them an asylum, to mitigate their sorrows, and to supply relief."

7th..." That although the committee are not insensible to the principles which, under ordinary circumstances, might restrain the government of this country from direct interference, on this subject, with the government of France, yet they cannot forget that in former, and even in less enlightened times, such interposition has repeatedly and usefully occurred, under our best princes and ablest statesmen; that such persecutions are inconsistent with general peace, and violate those universal rights which all nations are bound to protect; and that this committee, who know the liberal principles of their own government, and who have repeatedly experienced their attention and their aid, will humbly, but earnestly entreat them to remonstrate against the evils which they announce, and to exert their influence to prevent the continuance of a system which they cannot but deprecate and abhor."

8th..."That these resolutions be respectfully communicated by the secretaries, to the principal members of administration; and that they be inserted in the daily

papers, and periodical publications, and be circulated throughout Europe, as farther circumstances may require."

The latter end of November, William Baker, Esq. of Lismacue, Caher, whose statement of murders and outrages in Tipperary, I have given in 1814, was himself murdered, with circumstances of savage cruelty. The cause of this respectable and upright magistrate's assassination, the reader cannot fail to discern in the statement, page 415 of this treatise, which indicates his honourable and manly line of conduct, but which was sufficient to seal his death warrant, by the barbarians.

I have considered it necessary to particularize this crying deed, as well as those similar deeds, which its amiable and lamented victim stated, in December, 1814, with reference to their obvious link of concatenation, in moral depravity, and systematic villany. But it is not thence to be inferred, by those unacquainted with Ireland, that these can constitute the thousandth part of the black catalogue of crimes; for, as I have already observed, page 406, this would entirely transcend my limits.—Among the murdered, are many tithe proctors; whose murderers, in jest, as well as defiance, of divine and human laws, have been termed "Kill-proctors."

Beside the murders, and other shocking cruelties inflicted, and a very general robbery of fire-arms, throughout every part of the country, not well protected by the royal army, an immense quantity of the property of protestants, in specie, and otherwise, has been systematically plundered and destroyed; which may help to account for the assertion so current in *political* circles, "that the property of the country has got into new hands." This position, though, in a general sense, directly contrary to the truth, would, however, be likely to have been realized in the end, if the "industrious" efforts of the "illuminati" were not to have experienced re-action, now sufficiently manifest to the blind and the deaf, or at least those who have been wilfully so.

Before I quit this part of the subject, I think it necessary to notice another branch of the system. Such of the

poorer farmers, or cottagers, of the Romish persuasion, as have had too much prudence, and, I trust, too much virtue, to join in the infamous schemes of the banditti, have been visited by night, and plundered of sums, though small, great to them; and have received from the "patriots" the ridiculous consolation for their indigent families, that such plunder was for "*the cause!*"

I have now to furnish some extracts from a late publication in Cork, of which the title page is:—

"A Sketch of Irish History, compiled by way of question and answer, for the use of schools."

"Cork: printed by J. Geary, at the Stanhope-press Printing-office, King's-arms, Exchange—1815."

One of the answers contains the following atrocious libel:—"Nicholas Sheehy, parish priest of Clogheen, in the county of Tipperary, was selected as a fit object for their wicked, though ultimately ineffectual purpose, of implicating the catholic religion, the pope, the French, and the Pretender, in the tumultuary outrages of these desperadoes, (Whiteboys.) Three hundred pounds were set on his head. He was tried and acquitted. His enemies being determined on his destruction, indicted him for the murder of a man, named Bridge, 'whose dead body,' says O'Leary, 'could not be found in Ireland, but whose living body was discovered in Newfoundland, whither he was privately sent.' For this imaginary crime, he was tried and condemned, in Clonmel, to be hanged and quartered, which sentence was accordingly executed in 1766."

"*Q.* What were the principles of the Orangemen?"

"*A.* They affected to unite in support of the constitution, as established by King William, at the revolution of 1688; and their original object and obligation are stated to have been, the extermination of the catholics of Ireland, as far as in them lay. This oath of extermination they afterwards changed into that of supporting the king, as long as he should support the protestant ascendancy."

"*Q.* Was not this society composed principally of Roman catholics?"

"*A.* No. Their partial emancipation in 1793, caused them to be generally satisfied for some time, and but few of them joined the association, until some years after."

Another of the answers asserts:—"Seven thousand individuals were exterminated by these wretches, (Orangemen,) in the county of Armagh alone, whose only crime, as Lord Gosford asserted, 'was the simple profession of the Roman catholic faith."

"*Q.* How did government act on this occasion?"

"*A.* It protected the associated perpetrators of these horrors, anxiously propagated their principles throughout the realm, and promoted the formation of new lodges, for the express purpose of keeping up distinctions in the people, inflaming religious discord, and turning the public mind from the pursuit of constitutional objects."

"*Q.* What was the result of this rebellion?" (1798.)

"*A.* It deprived his majesty of seventy thousand most useful subjects, whom wiser counsels would have preserved to fight the battles of the British empire against its most potent enemy, and it laid the foundation for the legislative union."

"*Q.* Was this a popish rebellion?"

"*A.* The original founders, the chief promoters, and the conductors of the rebellious union were all protestants, (except Esmond, M'Nevin, and some few others,) but the great mass of the unfortunate and wretched peasants, who had been seduced or goaded into insurgency, were undoubtedly mostly Roman catholics."

"*Q.* Were not the threats of a French invasion industriously kept afloat at this period, in order to decry the loyalty of the Irish?"

"*A.* Yes; and ministry thus justified the expense of their public measures of defence, and affected to sanction the necessity of internal coercion. Many persons were taken into custody, under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and the rigorous treatment of state prisoners, who had been for several months in confinement, was sharpened, without any visible or known cause."

"*Q.* Did not the resolutions of several country meetings of catholics, with reference to their total emancipation hold a language of confidence and assurance which was as new as it was offensive to the castle?"

"*A.* Yes; but nothing so alarmed government, as the rising harmony and concert of the protestants with their catholic countrymen."

"*Q.* Was not the catholic petition presented in due form to the imperial parliament in 1808?"

"*A.* It was; and at that time was brought about the the discussion of the Veto, which threw the public mind into universal agitation."

"*Q.* Did not this attempt to intermeddle with a national religion, preserved with a virtuous hierarchy, without any civil establishment or state interference, through centuries of oppression and persecution, produce alarm in every reflecting mind?"

"*A.* Yes; the laity abhorred the idea of the ministers of their religion becoming open to court influence and intrigue, and shuddered at the prospect of prostituting the sacred function of the apostolic mission and jurisdiction, to which they had hitherto submitted, as of divine institution, to its revilers, persecutors, and sworn enemies."

"*Q.* How did the catholic prelates act on this occasion?"

The answer to this question contains synodical proceedings which I have already given.

"*Q.* Did not many and unequivocal proofs, bespeak the determination of the Richmond administration to rivet catholic Ireland with degradation and despondency?"

"*A.* Yes; a fostering countenance was particularly given to the Orangemen, that tended rather to foment and encourage, than to put down or punish their atrocities."

"*Q.* Did not Orange ferocity sensibly increase in the year 1809?"

"*A.* It did. The native leaders of the Orange societies rendered their system at that period so additionally ferocious, that some of the less blood thirsty withdrew their names, who nevertheless adhered to the general principles of their institution, that is, to a proscriptive and implacable hatred to catholicity."

"*Q.* Was not the king incapacitated from attending to business, towards the close of the year 1810?"

"*A.* Yes; it pleased the Almighty to revisit his majesty with a return of the illness which has suspended his exercise of the executive authority since that period."

Any comment on this publication would be superfluous. After the full exposition which I have given in this work, it would be absurd to defend the jurisprudence and government of the country, against the contemptible incendiary, whoever he be, that has discharged from his polluted heart, this malignant, but impotent venom.

Before I finish my historical sketch, it is indispensably necessary, that I notice a subject, which has been not only urged, latterly, as a tenable pretence for rebellion, but which has, through the long period of the present reign, agitated Ireland: I mean tithes. On this subject, the people have been deceived, by those who, from designing or interested motives, wished to deceive them. In advocating tithes, I shall confine myself to paramount authorities, without losing time in noticing any speculative arguments on the subject.

First, tithes are *jure divino;* and, secondly, they are an inalienable species of property, which can no more be transferred from the right owners, than any other species of property in his majesty's dominions.

That they are *jure divino*, I have selected the following proofs:—

Genesis, 14 ch. 18, 19, 20 verses—Melchisedek, the priest of the most high God, blessed Abram. And he (Abram) gave him tithes of all. 28 ch. 22 v.—Of all that thou shalt give me, I will surely give the tenth unto thee.

Leviticus, 27 ch. 30 v.—All the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the Lord's: it is holy unto the Lord. 32 v.—And concerning the tithe of the herd, or of the flock, even of whatsoever passeth under the rod, the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord.

Numbers, 18 ch. 21, 24 v.—Tithes of the children of Israel, given the children of Levi, for an inheritance for their service.

2nd Chronicles, 31 ch. 5 v.—Of all the increase of the field, and the tithe of all things brought they in abundantly.

Nehemiah, 13 ch. 12. v.—All Judah brought the tithe of the corn, and the new wine, and the oil.

Malachi, 3 ch. 8 v.—Will a man rob God? yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, wherein have we robbed thee?—In tithes and offerings. 10 v.—Bring ye all the tithes.

St. Matthew, 23 ch. 23 v.—Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.

I. Corinthians, 9 ch. 11 ver.—If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things. 13th and 14th verses.—Do ye not know, that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel.

Galatians, 6 ch. 6 ver. Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.

Hebrews, 7 chap. 5th and 6th verses.—They that are of the sons of Levi, who receive the office of the priesthood, have a commandment to take tithes of the people according to the law, that is, of their brethren, though they come out of the loins of Abraham. But he whose descent is not counted from them, received tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promises.

Of tithes, as a legal tenure, and an inalienable species of property, Sir Edward Coke states, that the first kings of the realm had all the lands of England in demesne, and *les grands manours*, and *les royalties*, they reserved to themselves; and with the remnant they enfeoffed the barons of the realm, for the defence thereof, with such jurisdiction as the crown baron now hath. And, at this time, when all the lands of England were the king's demesne, Ethelwolf, the second monarch of the Saxon

race, after the heptarchy, conferred the tithes of all the kingdom upon the church, by his royal charter, which is extant in Abbot Ingulf, and in Matthew, of Westminster. All the lands in the kingdom, thus charged with the perpetual payment of tithes to the clergy, as a rent-charge thereon, before any part thereof was demised to others, came with this incumbrance to the lords and gentlemen of the realm, and have been so transmitted down to the present proprietors. The purchase money must have been higher, and the rents to tenants larger, if the lands had not been thus charged. No landholder, therefore, has a right to any part of the tithe. He can no more legally withhold it, *jure humano*, and by the nature of his contract, than he can, in a moral sense, without having to answer for "robbing God." In either sense, human or divine, there is no other term can be applied to keeping back tithe, but robbery!—For the clergy hold by the double tenure, (the highest of all others,) *jure divino*, and *jure humano*, which I have sufficiently proved.

I have now drawn to a close, the summary of the English and Irish histories; which, I trust, I have executed with fidelity, accuracy, and conciseness. I have concentrated every material event, in both, applicable to the subject in question. It remains, only, to draw such inferences as flow from the premises. As I have interspersed the summary with occasional observations, such as, in their respective places, appeared to me to be not only suitable, but imperiously called for by the particular parts of the subject; I can compress such inferences into the more brief compass; and can thence be enabled to arrive the sooner and the easier at the required conclusion. Particular recapitulation, as the treatise itself combines historical recapitulation of every thing connected with the point in question, would be but useless protraction. I shall, therefore, elicit my arguments briefly and generally from the whole.

First, it is proved, by the clearest demonstration, that a temporal dominion—a kingdom that *was* of this world—flowed from, and was the inseparable concomitant of, the

ecclesiastical jurisdiction; or, as it has been termed—"the authority of the church." Thus, the first and most essential principle of religion, has been overthrown by the very system, which the ignorant and bigoted people were taught to believe to be religion itself: and these countries have exhibited the mortifying spectacle of the most supercilious pride and arrogance, the most disgusting hypocrisy, and the most unrelenting cruelty; together with the utmost thirst of riches and power, gratified with the most immense possession of both; on the one hand; in the conduct of men towards their fellow men: and, on the other, the most degrading abasement, servility, and bowing down of such men, created after the image of God, to presumptuous fellow mortals. Thus, the civil rights of men, in society, have been infringed and destroyed, under the pretence of religion; while, in reality, religion is the parent of free-will, or liberty, from its very nature, and as affecting us in a future state of existence, according to our use of that free-will.

Secondly, it is demonstrated, that this hierarchy, with the bishop of Rome at its head, under the appellation, "pope," which has falsely and presumptuously denominated itself "the catholic church," sprung up long after the true catholic church of Christ and his apostles—that it differs from it, and stands manifestly opposed to it.

Thirdly, it is demonstrated, that this Roman hierarchy is the individual establishment which has, in all these recounted ages of the christian æra, since its fabrication, usurped both the spiritual and temporal dominion, over the minds and bodies of men, described in these pages: the individual power which has not only circumscribed "the liberty with which Christ has made us free," and which he will make us answerable that we "use as not abusing;" but that has also destroyed the civil rights, liberties, properties, and lives of the most considerable part of the human species.

These inductions, from premises beyond the power of cavil, are, I apprehend, sufficient and conclusive; and I should think it an insult to the understandings of that part of my readers, whose approbation of this work I am the most

anxious to obtain, were I to attempt to add to their force by using any other. I hasten then to the next part of the inquiry—how far we can separate the men professing the Romish religion from the religion itself? This, I am ready to grant, wherever it can be done, we are bound in charity to do. But charity and weakness of judgment are two very different things. Perhaps, of all other human concerns, the principle of charity, in the admissibility of Romanists to offices of state—of power—of trust of a protestant government, would least assimilate with reason. As far as the amount of the privileges which have been granted, up to 1793 inclusive, perhaps charity and liberality required the grant. If there be an exception among these privileges, the eligibility of granting which was doubtful, that exception was certainly the elective franchise. But, as matters now are, nought remains but a question of power: and it behoves all who are not exactly interested in "the cause of catholicity," whether they be individuals intrusted in any of the departments of government, or not, to consider well, how power can be granted to them.—I wish to be clearly understood: I mean, granted with propriety and safety; for the physical possibility I will not dispute; as many things are, abstractedly, possible, which are very improbable, and would be very improper. But it has been the device of modern ingenuity, in aid of "the cause," to represent as officious and presumptuous any individuals, unconnected with the state by either parliamentary or official ties, who have ventured to oppose this cause; or have dared to express disapproval of "unqualified emancipation:" and against their characters, interests, and peace, malice and calumny have directed their darkest shafts, with the unceasing industry of "hatred immortal and unrelenting:" while those who are "friends to the cause," and support it by seditious speeches, are affected to be considered as neither officious nor presumptuous; but honest! virtuous! eloquent! talented! patriotic!——Nor do those intrusted with the important and onerous concerns of government, escape their share of the foul-mouthed slander neither.—"Envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness," with unmitigated perseverance, continue to pursue, to

oppress, to stigmatize them, for their most constitutional and conscientious measures, for the conservation of the constitution of the empire; and by the propagation of the most artful falsehoods, and the most base and slanderous revilings of the individuals intrusted with the powers of the government, endeavour to bring into contempt, and to subvert, the constitution of the government itself. "But," as St. Peter declares, "the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment, to be punished; but chiefly them that walk after the flesh, in the lust of uncleanness, and despise government. Presumptuous are they, self-willed, they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities." Now, in direct contradiction to the shameful prevarications, the false positions, and the hypocritical pretences of agitators and incendiaries, the express intent of this treatise is to prove, that the presumption lies with themselves! and that it is equally the concern of protestants who are not in office, nor likely, nor desirous, to be in office, as it is of the individuals themselves filling offices, being protestants, that the pride and presumption of these agitators should not be gratified. This I have undertaken to prove, first, by true historical premises, and next, by consecutive and inevitable conclusions.—History developes fully, not the doubtful, undetermined probability, but the actually ascertained *result* of Romish jurisdiction. Whether, then, the massive, and, thank God, as yet, invulnerable gates of the British constitution, shall be forced from their ponderous hinges, "to grate harsh thunder," and to make room again for such detested tyranny? Whether our surest bulwarks, next to, and under, the almighty providence of God, shall be removed? Whether our true and tried fences shall be levelled; our experienced protection, our most valuable possession, our dearest birth-right, the British constitution, surrendered? are now the important questions for the solution of the millions, as they really may be termed, of the protestants of the British empire, and which it has been deemed officious and presumptuous in them to meddle with. I repeat, the British constitution: for,

grant the insolent claims which are termed "unqualified emancipation," and a vestige of that constitution will no longer exist. This is unquestionable, and requires no farther proof than the description of the settlement of 1688, given in this treatise, which regenerated that constitution, and restored the body politic to its pristine health, which had been debilitated by the Romish usurpation, and all its concomitant evils of priestcraft and despotism.

But, it will be demanded, is every Romanist involved in these conclusions?—I answer, I hope, and believe not. But it will be recollected, that Romish theologians will not allow those who profess moderation, to be "competent expounders" of "catholic doctrine;" nor will Romish leaders, in executive, civil, and political affairs, allow them to be capable of deciding in this department. To what, then, could the inquiry amount? Romanists, of this description, instead of convincing or reforming the "catholic church," would be severely punished for their own "schismatical" efforts. It is true, under an "a-catholic government," they have protection from the consequences which would inevitably ensue, under a "true," "orthodox," "catholic" government; under which, they must take especial care how they meddled with either "catholic doctrine," or "discipline." I would beg leave here, to remind this interesting, respectable, and, I hope, far from inconsiderable class of society, of the remarkable declaration of Doctor M'Nevin:—"For my part, I would as soon establish the Mahometan as the popish religion, though I am myself a Roman catholic."—But, however this matter be, it is of no importance. The particular opinion of any individual of the Romish persuasion, unauthorized by the "authority of the church," has no more to do with the general question, than the particular opinion of any person, who may please to call himself a protestant, would have, whether in or out of office, who may take it into his head, that he may compliment away the inestimable birth-right of the protestant millions of the British empire, their laws, rights, liberties, religion, properties, and lives, "for a mess of pottage" for himself.

But I shall place this matter beyond question or argument, by recounting some of the decrees of *Councils*, the paramount authority with Romanists, which are particularly applicable to this point.

In 1215, the fourth council of Lateran decreed :— "Heretics of every kind against the true orthodox faith, shall be condemned; and if they shall not prove their innocence by a proper purgation, they shall be excommunicated, and their effects shall be confiscated. All secular powers shall be compelled, by ecclesiastical censures, to take an oath, to extirpate within their respective territories, such of their subjects as shall be condemned, as heretics, by the church. But if any temporal prince shall refuse to purge his territories of heretical pravity, when required to do so by the metropolitan, and his suffragan bishops, let him be excommunicated; and if he shall not make full satisfaction in one year, let it be notified to the sovereign pontiff, that he may absolve his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and transfer his territories to any other catholics, who may enjoy them without contradiction, provided they exterminate all heretics in them, and preserve the purity of the catholic faith."

"All catholics, who shall take up arms for the purpose of extirpating such heretics, shall enjoy the same indulgence, and the like holy privilege, with those who visited the Holy Land."

"When any temporal lord or people denied the supremacy of the pope, their subjects were to be absolved from their oath of allegiance, and other princes were commanded to conquer their territories, and reign in their stead."

This same council, and the council of Constance also, in 1414, both decreed :—"That no faith is to be kept with heretics."

Of the religious observance of this principle, the council of Constance gave an example on the spot, to prevent the possibility of "competent expounders," or "true members" of the "catholic church," mistaking the point, either in principle or practice, in the case of

John Huss, and Jerome, of Prague, who were burned alive, notwithstanding a safe conduct which had been granted to them, to and from the council, by the emperor, to propound their doubts and objections. Of the crime for which they suffered, Æneas Sylvius, denominated Pius the second, bishop of Rome, gives the following account, in his history of Bohemia :—

"The deputies of the council having admonished the parties accused, to forsake their *errors*, and conform to the church's sentiments, they made answer, that 'they were indeed lovers of the holy gospel, and true disciples of Christ; that the church of Rome, and all the other churches in the world, were far gone from the apostolical traditions; that the clergy ran after pleasures and riches; that they lorded it over the people, affected the highest seats at entertainments, and bred horses and dogs; that the revenues of the church, which belonged to the poor members of Christ, were consumed in vanity and wantonness; that the priests were ignorant of the commandments of God, or if they did know them, they lightly regarded them.'"

"The fathers of the council," continues the historian, "perceiving and knowing the invincible obstinacy of these people, judged that the corrupted members of the church, that were incurable, ought to be cut off, lest they should infect the rest of the body. Accordingly, sentence was passed upon them; all the fathers unanimously agreeing, that persons who rejected sound doctrine, approved of by the church, deserved to be burned."

This curious specimen of faith in, and worship of, that all-merciful, just, and omniscient Being, whom the scriptures declare to be "Love," affords a double proof.—These men were not only burned alive, for their accordance with the infallible decisions of revealed religion, which secures to them the ample compensation, and eternal reward of such conformity, but they were so burned, in defiance of the safe conduct on which they had depended for protection. But, in this, it must be confessed, "the fathers" were but consistent with their own decision, that "all oaths to heretics were null and void, as tending to the prejudice of the church."

In the city of Sienna, in 1422, a council passed severe decrees against the Wickliffites and Hussites. The temporal princes were enjoined to drive them out of their dominions; and the same indulgences that were gained by those who went in person to the Holy Land, were granted to all who should inform against any heretic whatsoever, or deliver him into the hands of the inquisitors. It was also ordained, that the decree, granting these indulgences, should be read yearly to the people, with an audible voice, on the first and fourth Sundays in Lent, and on the festivals of the nativity and the resurrection of our Lord, to the end none might be ignorant of it.

A council at Toledo, in Spain, 1473, decreed:—"If a temporal prince shall neglect to purge his territories of heretical pravity, notice must be given to the pope, that he may, thenceforth, pronounce his subjects discharged of their oaths of allegiance, and give his dominions to catholics."

The decrees of the council of Trent, 1545 to 1563, confirmed the decrees of these councils.

To these expressive documents, I subjoin an extract from the oath of Romish bishops, to the bishop of Rome:

"The rights, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman church, and of our Lord the pope, and his successors, I will be careful to preserve, defend, enlarge, and promote."

"All heretics, schismatics, and rebels against our said lord and his successors, I will, to the utmost of my power, persecute and impugn."

It is true, indeed, that in the year 1791, the Irish titular bishops applied to the bishop of Rome, who consented to expunge from this oath, the words "*hæreticos persequar et impugnabo.*" But the policy of this, with a view to the privileges subsequently granted, is obvious.

I have to add, too, that every priest, when he gets a parish, swears obedience to the see of Rome, and to the decrees of general councils, and anathematizes all heretics whom the church had anathematized.

Thus is demonstrated the essential spirit, which has operated so dreadfully in the kingdoms of this world, of

what has been, by the most absurd solecism, termed—FAITH!——and the proof of its operation is of the fullest and highest nature; the continued experience of all the successive ages of bloodshed, cruelty, and slavery, which have passed since christianity was perverted from its legitimate and primitive institution.

The important, the vital question, then, lies before us: whether the DEMAND to be invested with POWER, by persons professing this form of faith, shall be granted?—that is, whether the British constitution, connected in church and state, "fundamentally protestant," and ascertained, for the long and happy period since the revolution, as the preservative of protestantism and of liberty; for which purpose it was then so formed, in its regenerated state, by men who had experienced, as well as their predecessors for ages back, the tremendous evils arising from the want of liberty, and the establishment of popery—whether this constitution shall be abrogated? Whether, on the one hand, our religious freedom, our christian liberty to preserve "the true religion established among us;" and on the other, not only our civil rights, liberties, and properties, but even our existence, shall be all—all surrendered, so as that "nothing shall survive but the memory of the MISCHIEFS!"

It must be acknowledged, that this demand of power, on the part of the claimants, particularly those of them who are "competent expounders," or "true members" of the "catholic faith," is quite characteristic: but it would not be equally consistent, on the part of protestants, to surrender the only earthly security for every thing valuable to them, particularly, under the help of God, with the power of retaining it. The language of menace has indeed been resorted to. We have been repeatedly told, that "the catholic claims cannot be resisted;" and yet they have been, repeatedly, and continue to be, resisted. These menaces have been intended to operate on the ignorant and timid among protestants, while others have been artfully worked on by the grand master-key, their interest. The menaces are really beneath notice, and calculated to produce, in better informed minds,

nothing but contempt, for the disgusting exhibitions of the savage minds indicated by the speeches of the orators, if their power did but equal their zeal; and for the ridiculous affectation of a power, which, it is obvious, they would abuse, if they had it. The irresistible property which has been absurdly attributed to the "catholic claims," when properly examined, will be found to have no existence. When brought to the test of reason, of revelation, or of history, not the smallest sanction is discoverable; nay, nor of civil liberty neither; for civil liberty, equally as common sense, abhors recognition of a sect which affects to consider itself dominant. When considered with reference to numbers, and, by implication, consequently, to force, (if such had not been even plainly hinted, in some of the applauded speeches,) what proportion does their number bear to the protestant population of England, Scotland, and whatever may be their proportion in Ireland? If, indeed, the talented chapel orators were able to effect their point, of "restoring Ireland to her rank among the nations," why, it must be granted, that the irresistible property may be better comprehended. But the matter cannot assume this shape to the eye of reason. Stubborn and uncompromising truth will still, unfortunately, oppose its uncouth intrusions, and rough obstacles, to the mellifluous intonations of "eloquence," the bright flashes of "illumination," the resplendent irradiations of "talents," the progressive advances of "liberality," and the holy "cause of catholicity." The comparative preponderance of the protestants, generally, in the whole United Empire, (the true aspect in which to view the matter,) is greater, in the proportional estimate, than the comparatively local preponderance of Romanists in Ireland. The Romanists are not four-fifths of the people of Ireland; whereas, the protestants are four-fifths of the empire at large. Of what avail, then, would force be? and are not the orators sufficiently sensible of this? The act of three millions directing force against twelve millions, backed with the powers of government, and the fleets and armies of England, in which are innumerable heroes, fully equal

to those who fought, and conquered their liberties before, when the other party was stronger than it is now, would be similar to the act of a maniac, directing the missil against his own breast. The navy of England, alone, protestant, with a very trifling exception, would, in a question of force, be more than sufficient to reduce Ireland to ashes, or prevent any design to effect separation into "rank among the nations," or connexion with a foreign power.

This argument of numbers, and another of services, constitute what have been chiefly relied on, in "the cause of catholicity." The services in the army and navy, for which, I must take the liberty of reminding the orators, Romanists are paid, in common with protestant soldiers and sailors, and into which their motive for entering, is to obtain bread, constitute neither title to, nor fitness for, the situations of generals or admirals, much less of ministers of state, privy counsellors, members of parliament, and judges of the land.

But there is another matter to which I am now arrived, conclusive of the fate of "catholic claims," and with which I will conclude this treatise; a matter which, if all other motives, of self preservation, defence, security, expediency, deducible from history, could be totally laid aside, and all utterly forgotten, is, of itself, fatal to these claims, and reduces the demand of offices of trust to the most whimsical absurdity. The Romanists will not take the oath of supremacy. They look, then, for offices under a government, the supremacy of which they do not acknowledge. But striking as is this absurdity, as applicable to the offices sought for, there is a consistency in their conduct, touching the person whose supremacy they do hold; namely, the bishop of Rome; whose "authority," doubtless, they would wish to "enlarge and promote," which they could better effect by being in offices, than by remaining out of them.

This maintenance of the supremacy of a foreign power, while the lawful and constituted supremacy of the state is disallowed, renders the supposition truly ridiculous, that

offices of state can ever be granted to persons who thus conscientiously think and act; or, what is in effect the same thing, the eligibility to fill them. The ineligibility, as I before observed, proceeds from themselves. Those who will not submit to the qualifications which the constitution of a government prescribes to, and requires from, those admitted to offices of trust under it, cannot reasonably, no more than they can constitutionally or legally, demur to that decision which excludes them. It was appositely observed by the great Lord Chatham, that "parliament had no more right to alter the oath of supremacy, than to repeal the Great Charter, or the Bill of Rights."

But I shall here prove, that there is no pretence, which could be safely avowed, for refusing the oath of supremacy, even if offices of trust were out of the question; for, as to an office, a man has the alternative, if the condition were even hard, which is not the case, of remaining content without it.

In one of the articles of religion, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and afterwards, in an act of parliament, the supremacy is set forth as a civil power merely. By these, it was declared, that "this gave her not the ministry of God's word, or of the sacraments; but only that prerogative which was given by God himself, in the scriptures, to godly princes—that they should rule all committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal; and restrain, with the civil sword, the stubborn and evil doers."

First, then, the supremacy is not a spiritual authority; or, in other words, it assumes not the power of compelling assent to dogmas, whether true or false. In the king, whom the constitution invests with it, it is no usurpation; as some, who take the hints of their arguments from the father of lies, have insinuated: for the constitution does no more than had been already done by the highest authorities in the sacred scriptures—St. Paul, St. Peter, and our Blessed Lord and Saviour himself. St. Paul.—"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. The powers that be, are

ordained of God." St. Peter.—"Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as *supreme*, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well." Our Saviour.—"Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's."——Besides, in the protestant church, Jesus Christ is the supreme spiritual head—the "chief corner stone"—the "*rock!*"—and "other foundation can no man lay." In vain, then, is all Jesuitical quibbling, and "paltering with us in a double sense;" for, in neither way, spiritual or temporal, can power which is not of God, be supported. The spiritual power of the bishop of Rome melts into "thin air:" and, I defy the utmost efforts of malignant subtilty, to point out one expression in the oath of supremacy, which assumes to vest the king with this. On the contrary, it does not mention the king's name at all. Power, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, is only mentioned for the purpose of abjuring the usurped double authority of the bishop of Rome, blasphemous in the spiritual sense, illegal and subversive in the temporal, and, in the combined sense, monstrous, unspeakable, and astonishing that it should ever have been submitted to!—The words impious, heretical, and damnable, are applied, in this oath, to the doctrine of deposing and killing kings, by the authority of the see of Rome; and what can be more impious, heretical, and damnable, than rebellion and murder?——St. Paul says, in the verse immediately succeeding that which I have quoted—"Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation." This may be allowed to authorize the expression, damnable; and, impious and heretical any doctrine must be, which involves crimes of lesser magnitude than rebellion and murder. What is impiety?—Deviation from virtue or rectitude. The Lord of Light and Life says—"If ye love me, keep my commandments."—"If you will enter into life, keep the commandments." What is heresy?—Any doctrine which contradicts religion, as revealed in the sacred scriptures.

Again, that part of the king's title—"Of the united churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on earth the supreme head," is but an appendage. "Defender of the faith," is also an appendage, which had been conferred by the bishop of Rome on Henry the eighth, for a book he had written in defence of the Romish religion, and which has been since continued. I believe few, either protestants or Romanists, will contend, that this contains much meaning, in a spiritual sense; though, in a temporal sense, our present upright monarch gave us, in the year 1807, a noble proof of defence of that faith, which, at his coronation, he was sworn to maintain. So, with the title of supreme head. Spiritually, I have shewn, that it is not assumed by the king. In this part of the title, indeed, supreme head of the church is mentioned; but it is mentioned, on earth: and the title so worded, is just and indisputable. What is a visible church? A congregation of mortals. Now, every individual, lay or ecclesiastic, is to be subject to the higher powers. The king is *supreme*. "The church is in the state, and not the state in the church," as Optatus Milevitanus well expresses; else why the direction, as to earthly concerns, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's?"—Ecclesiastics are not to rule over kings, but kings over ecclesiastics. The authorized kingdom of ecclesiastics "is not of this world!" This is the substance and amount of the title—"supreme head of the church on earth."

To this exposition, I think it necessary to add, that pursuant to an act of parliament, at the settlement of the Union, the king, in council, settled the royal title in the following words:—"George the third, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith." This places the matter beyond cavil, however unsupported by reason any cavil could have been, at any time before; except, indeed, in the reign of Henry the eighth; to the events of whose reign, I have adverted in their proper place.

Having thus attempted to describe what the supremacy is not, as to spirituals, I shall next attempt to describe what it is, as to temporals.

It is, in the eye of the constitution, and in the eye of the law, as it is in the eye of reason, and in that of revelation, an inseparable and essential part of the royal authority; to separate the integral parts of which, without dissolving the whole, would be impossible. Of this authority, sovereignty, or supremacy, which the constitution lodges in the executive, to deny or oppose any part, is, therefore, denial of, and opposition to, the whole. The crime which is constituted by committing such overt acts, I shall forbear here to mention. It is sufficient that the law pronounces it.

But I cannot dismiss this concluding part of a subject, which, by the gracious permission of Divine Providence, I have been enabled to compass, amid many avocations and interruptions, without briefly noticing a matter which has been already noticed by others; among the rest, by a venerable and estimable character, in his judicial capacity, distinguished for his virtues, real talents, and manly candour and spirit. This is the supposed connexion between the speeches of the orators, and the midnight deeds of the "collecting columns." But let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean a legal connexion in crime. It is, perhaps, fortunate in a double sense; first, for the credit and vindication of the protecting laws of our constitution, which stentorian voices have decried; and next, for the safety of the "talented orators" themselves, that these laws do not recognise constructive robbery or constructive murder! any more than they do constructive treason. A man must be either specifically a principal, or accessary to a particular act, to constitute crime. Thus stands the matter as to its legal grounds; and it so stands very consistently with the principles which ought to regulate all human laws, and tribunals, and which do regulate ours; for it would be very hard, if one man were to be accountable for the act of another, with which there is no proof that he has had any thing to do, even though his orations should have contained some unfortunately exciting expressions, (perhaps not so intended,) which may have stimulated the wretched perpetrator; who, however, should have consulted the

internal monitor, and fled from the fascinating strains of the charmer. As to the connexion, in a moral sense, between strong speeches, and strong deeds, He "to whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid;" who, in the words of Sir Isaac Newton, "is all eye, all ear;" and who cannot be deceived by either "pretences or purposes," is the great and infallible judge. But never did relation between cause and effect appear more conspicuous, in this world, than that between the speeches and the deeds. However, appearances are sometimes fallacious.

But, to sum up the subject, neither deeds nor speeches will ever effect, what is, by a solecism, termed "catholic emancipation." The attempt is impracticable, to get into offices of state, by men who will not comply with the necessary qualifications prescribed by that state. These qualifications are not peculiar, neither. All protestants admitted to offices of trust, or taking their seats in either house of parliament, must take the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, and make and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation.

Now, it is held, by "competent expounders," that the oath of supremacy is incompatible with "the purity of catholic faith and doctrine," and with "the integrity of the catholic church;" and that he who should take it, would, in effect, be no longer one of its members. The truth of this can be readily granted. It is sufficiently obvious. And this is the essential argument, which, above all others, without the smallest fear of premature or hasty decision, conducts me, directly and fully, to a certain and safe arrival at my proposed end; namely, an explicit answer to the question with which this treatise commences in the title page; the indisputable truth of which answer, I proposed to myself, should be demonstrated, from the general proofs contained in the body of the treatise, and also from this particular proof which they furnish against themselves.

Whence is it, that this oath, so unexceptionable, spiritually, in the proper sense of the word, is cavilled at?—The objection rests not on such conscientious and tenable

grounds as the society of friends, called quakers, offer; who will not take any oaths; deduced from the precept, "swear not at all:" and yet there have been fewer instances of perjuries in courts of justice, in the affirmations of quakers than in the oaths of Romanists. I have never heard of one instance in the case of this society. In the case of Romanists, how numerous have been the instances in Ireland? Of the character of some of these, the prosecution of the Rev. Mr. Griffith, a clergyman of the church of Ireland, and a magistrate, affords a signal instance; for the particulars of which I must refer such of my readers as are not already in possession of them, to the assizes reports in the Irish newspapers, a little time back. The security of oaths, indeed, in some instances, is very slender. He whose word cannot be depended on, can, perhaps, afford but little additional security by his oath. The doctrines of "dispensation," "absolution," and that "all oaths to heretics are null and void, as tending to the prejudice of the church,"—are much against the security of oaths from members of the Romish church: and, though there is not a doubt, but some Romanists are men of the strictest honour, and fully to be depended on, either as to their words or oaths, these are men of strong minds, unfettered by the trammels of priestcraft. Romanists, however, have no such objection to oaths, generally, as that of the society of friends. They are sufficiently free in their use of them: and, among the rest, they boast that they take the oath of allegiance, though they will not take the oath of supremacy. They take the oath of allegiance, indeed, to qualify themselves for voting at elections. And how are their votes usually disposed of?—Are they conscientiously given to true and tried friends of the British constitution; to which I defy all the casuists of the schools to maintain, that there is not an implied obligation in the very nature of the oath of allegiance, and the freeholder's oath?—If we believe themselves, they are. But experience has demonstrated, that this is not the case. If, indeed, for the British constitution, we read "the cause," this restores the sense; and all is right, without the necessity of absolution. In Queen

Elizabeth's time, Sixtus the fifth sent the Romanists, in England, a dispensation from the rigorous observance of a bull, which his predecessor, Pius the fifth, had issued against her. They were allowed, by this dispensation, to APPEAR obedient and respectful to her, until their party was strong enough to rise against her.

Farther, whence is it, that the supremacy itself—the fulness of sovereignty which the constitution vests in the king, is incompatible with "catholic doctrine?" Religion, properly so called, institutes it positively. I have proved this from the authorities of our Saviour, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Now, what can be the source of the "catholic doctrine," which contradicts, at once, this species of authority, and all the legal and constitutional temporal authorities also?——Has it been found in the sacred scriptures? O! perhaps tradition furnishes one!—— Councils, too, have issued their decrees; and "a heretic is unworthy and incapable of wearing a crown:"——"let him be excommunicated;—and transfer his territories to a catholic!" But our Saviour asks—"Why do ye transgress the commandments of God through your traditions?" —Again—"In vain do they worship me, teaching, for doctrines, the commandments of men: for laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups: and many other such like things ye do. Making the word of God of none effect through your tradition." The Holy Spirit speaks by the prophet:—"Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting.——Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well."

Again—whence is it, that an objection to the exercise of the supremacy of the king exists?——O! it overthrows "the authority of the church," and "the supremacy of the pope!" Why this is the very thing intended by the British constitution; as far as touches its own "territories," which it will not permit to be "transferred to a catholic." Out of its own territories, it assumes not ought. It

meddles not, in any sense, with the person of the bishop of Rome; nor with his authority, except to prevent its usurping encroachments within British ground.—But, I crave pardon, Ireland is, forsooth, a "catholic country!" with a regular hierarchy of its own: the "catholic prelates" are, "your graces and your lordships;" the "catholic vicars general," formidable authorities: the protestant primate, plain Mr. Stewart, &c. &c. Neither does the British constitution retaliate, nor assume the power to dispose of his (the bishop of Rome's) territories; as some of his own "true sons of the church" have done; Buonaparte, for instance, who himself received the "imperial crown" from "his holiness;" and whose orthodoxy, talents, and virtues have been so much admired in Ireland, that some of the "faithful" have been victims of "sanguinary and unrelenting persecution", in courts of justice; which have sent them on a voyage of discovery, to try if they can find out their emperor, after having taken oaths of allegiance to him. The British government has not meddled with the Roman territory, except to protect it, and the legitimate title and property of its pontiff, as a temporal prince.

A few words remain, on securities, before I conclude. Of these, as equivalents for the admission of Romanists into parliament, and the offices of government, it has been well observed, that "perhaps, the best security is to keep them out." A great stress has been laid on the Veto. I cannot discover the efficacy of this security, if security it be. I cannot comprehend, how vesting the crown with a negative, in the appointment of the individuals who may be, from Romish priests, made Romish bishops, would be better than matters now are, on this point. In the present case, though these bishops are permitted to exist, *de facto*, among their own communion, consistently with the principles of toleration of their form of religious worship, in their own chapels: yet, the constitution does not, *de jure*, recognise them in their episcopal functions. It recognises but one bishop of Cork, for instance, namely, the protestant bishop, established by law; but one archbishop of Dublin—but one primate, &c. In the case

of the Veto, the crown, the first estate of the constitution, would be found recognising this species of anamoly, and contradiction to the principles of the constitution—a Romish hierarchy; and, consequently, the juridical powers of its bishops; dependant on the "authority" of "their lord the pope;" which such bishops are sworn to "promote and enlarge;" and whose person the cardinals, at Rome, *adore*, in the conclave, the same night they have elected him. It would be found recognising the principles of canonical obedience, which constitutes an essential part of Romish faith, in the regular steps of subordination, and blind submission; as well of the Romish inhabitants to their clergy, and of the clergy to their bishops, as of those bishops to the Romish usurper on the rights and liberties of nations, and the supremacy of their governments. Finally, it would be found recognising, as an inevitable consequence which must flow from these recognitions, the admission into the kingdom, in their official and authoritative capacity, immediately derived from the papal power, of *Legates a latere*, nuncios, apostolical vicars! Now what could constitute the principle of "*imperium in imperio*," improved, sanctioned, and recognised, more essentially than these consequences, which inevitably flow from the Veto? I know not, therefore, how the Veto could be equally eligible with the state of things now existing, putting the supposition of the grant of "catholic claims" out of the question. But to call it equiponderant with the admission of Romanists to the parliament and government of the country, without the oath of supremacy too, is, to my judgment, absurd. It is equally necessary to the integrity of the constitution, that the parliament, and the confidential advisers of the crown, should be protestant, as it is that the crown itself should "descend to the heirs of the Princess Sophia, being protestants:" even although "the integrity of the catholic church" should be left to take care of itself.—Besides, how could security be provided against the intricacy of the human heart?—If the Veto were even granted to be an efficient security, in the case of the Romish bishops, when raised by the absence of this

negative, appearing sufficiently grateful and well affected, how could tergiversation be provided against?—Before Becket was raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury, he was not alone merely loyal and faithful to Henry the second, and, to all appearance, inviolably attached to his interest and dignity, but he was even cringing and subservient, and supposed to be entirely his creature, and solely at his disposal. When Henry, induced thereby, exerted his utmost influence, and succeeded in procuring for him the archbishopric; lo! the scene was changed—Becket, emancipating himself from the royal authority, and believing "the integrity of the catholic church," that is, the authority of the Romish hierarchy, to be paramount to it, rebelled against his benefactor and sovereign, and lost sight, at once, of all sense of gratitude, of the king's interest, dignity, and safety—of every principle of the British constitution, and of submission to the divine laws, in the superior interests and duties to which he was bound down by oath to the bishop of Rome, in his new calling. This is a case directly in point.—It cannot be asserted, that the difference of time constitutes irrelevancy: for, it will be recollected, no length of time can have any thing to do with what is "unchanged and unchangeable." Besides, George the third is an "a-catholic sovereign." The supposition, therefore, cannot be very violent, or very opposite to reason and analogy, that what has happened, in things "unchanged and unchangeable," may happen again. The reader will also recollect the instance which I have laid before him, of tergiversation, in our own time, in the resolutions of "catholic prelates," on this very point of the Veto. A case has recently occurred, too, of a protestant bishop, who directly owes his high station to his majesty's bounty, having corresponded publicly with, and attempted to justify the proceedings of, that very Romish convention, which the court of king's bench had, by the solemn decision of all its judges, pronounced to be illegal. Now if this bishop felt no restraint, civil or religious, here, how could it be reasonably assumed that such could be expected from prelates, only sanctioned indirectly, and holding hostile religious tenets?

The inquiry now only remains, whether, if the oath of supremacy would be taken by Romanists, it would constitute a sufficient security for admission to offices, and seats in parliament. Mr. Perceval, at one time, expressed an opinion, in the house of commons, something favouring this supposition: and Mr. Perceval was possessed of great literary, legal, and political acquirements; and very capable of forming a sound judgment. It certainly would be a better security than the Veto, or any other that has been started. It is a security which protestants must give, and which they freely give. Mr. Perceval put the case hypothetically, and did not assume as probable, that the whole body of Romanists would take the oath of supremacy, or that their hierarchy would permit them: nor did he, probably, take into account "the integrity of the catholic church;" as this does not constitute one of the duties of a servant of the crown; one of the most faithful of which he was. If any number of individual Romanists would take this oath, it may, he suggested, become matter for consideration, whether such Romanists may not be granted admissibility.—Doubtless, a step so bold and independent, would remove, at least as to those who should take it, a very important and formidable part of the objection to their admissibility. But would it remove all?—Would there remain to constitutional foresight, defence, precaution, nothing to fear?—Is any oath an ultimatum of this nature?—The British constitution has not so decided. And, as the "catholic faith," including the doctrine relating to oaths, is "unchanged and unchangeable," I see no new argument, why this decision should be altered, amended, revised, or abrogated.

By this enviable and envied form of government, the sacramental test, to those holding offices, is prescribed: and this essentially and substantially constitutes security; or else I have misapprehended both the real and etymological meaning of the word, SECURITY, and also the nature of that constitution which has provided it. "The throne, the parliament, and the government of the country, are fundamentally protestant." There is no

other SECURITY. He, therefore, who is ambitious of an office of trust, or a seat in parliament, or, more appropriately, the eligibility to fill such, (for no man, protestant or Romanist, can force himself into office,) must emancipate himself; or remain content with every other civil freedom and privilege, under our happy and free constitution, and with the uninterrupted and free exercise of his religious worship also, fully secured to him by law.

Having thus, by the intermediate and regular steps, arrived at my proposed conclusion; the premised answer will have been anticipated. I trust I shall be found to have executed my task, to the conviction and satisfaction of my readers: and I flatter myself, that he shall be considered a much more "competent expounder" of "catholicity," than of British law, or British polity, who shall dissent from the answer, that—ADMISSIBILITY OF ROMANISTS TO THE HIGHER OFFICES OF THE STATE, IS NOT COMPATIBLE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION!

THE END.

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ERRATA.

Page 8, Lines 23 and 27—*for*—"dangerous novelty"—*read*—"novelty."

Page 18, Lines 32 and 33—*for*—"dangerous novelty"—*read*—"novelty."

Page 18, Lines 33, &c.——*read thus*—and, by the Romish ecclesiastical authorities, that the Romish is the only road to eternal life.

Page 18, Lines 35, &c.——*read thus*—and that "nothing but the memory of the mischiefs which it has created shall survive."

Page 34, Line 6—*for*—himself—*read*—him.

Page 44, Line 8—*for*—confidence—*read*—complaisance.

Page 175, Lines 2 and 3—*for*—"dangerous novelty"—*read*—"novelty."

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